CRCU 199
cuk. H00567112-95
CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY ★ CENTRAL LIBRARY.
UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA
310.5
.003
112

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW
JULY, 1935

HUNDRED YEARS OF WESTERN EDUCATION IN INDIA

ANATHNATH BASU, M.A. (LOND.), T.D. (LOND.)
Assistant Professor, Hindu University, Benares.

N the 7th of March, 1835, Lord Bentinck, the Governor-General of India, acting on the advice of the Hon'ble T. B. Macaulay, President of the General Committee of Public Instruction, passed resolution which brought into existence the present system of educa- n and which finally set at rest the controversy which had been raging about the past twenty years on the type of education to be parted to His Majesty's Indian subjects; Macaulay's famous nute on which this resolution was based had been published earlier the year, on 2nd February, 1835. Thus was introduced a century the western system of education, which perhaps more than any- ng else has revolutionised the whole social, economic, political and tural structure of Indian life.

Charles Trevelyan was not far from wrong when, speaking of s new move on the part of the British Government of India, he said: So much perhaps never depended upon the determination of any

GS 1443

Government.'[1] A hundred years have passed since the day whe this momentous decision was reached. In its train there can momentous changes in the whole life of the Indian people, chang which can be directly traced to the introduction of the new system education under Government patronage. It will be perhaps exaggeration to say that a new India was born on the day when century ago Bentinck inaugurated the western system of educatio Whether these changes have been for our good or not, whether t new India is better or worse than the mediaeval India whose deat knell was sounded on that day we need not discuss here ; but no o will doubt that it was indeed a memorable day in the history of Ind and perhaps in the history of this country there have been, compar to this, very few occasions which deserve more fittingly to be rememb ed by the people of this country even after a hundred years. T 7th of March, 1835, can certainly be the occasion of a centena celebration in India. And that can be done in no better way th by presenting a brief review of the history of education in India in t last century. It was time that we clearly undertsood the course events in their proper light and took stock of our achievements a failures. In many ways we are now at cross-roads. Perhaps a cle knowledge of this history may help us in guiding our steps in t light of our past experiences.

In his book *Education in British India* (Calcutta, 187 Arthur Howell wrote, "Education in India under British Governme was at first ignored, then violently and successfully opposed, th conducted on a new system now universally admitted to be erroneo and finally set on its present footing."[2] Thus Howell indicated ce tain stages in the history of western education in this countr Following him I shall, for this brief and rapid survey, divide th period under review into certain stages which are more or less w defined.

(1) 1835 to 1854 ; the period of beginning ;

(2) 1854-1884 ; the period of hesitancy and gradual formulati of aims ;

(3) 1884 to 1904 ; the period of transition ;

(4) 1904 to 1921 ; the period of consolidation ;

(5) 1921 to 1934 ; the modern period.

---

[1] Charles Trevelyan, *On the Education of the People of India*, p. 12.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 11.

CRCU 199

For a proper understanding of the history of education in the above periods and to explain the genesis of the system, I shall at first briefly narrate the history of events that took place in the field of Indian education before 1835 which year is, properly speaking, the starting point of our history.

EARLY HISTORY

The origins of the western system of education really date back almost to the middle of the sixteenth century and are to be sought in the activities of the early Christian missionaries who came to this country in the wake of European traders and adventurers. The missionaries followed the merchants and from the earliest times their efforts were directed towards christianizing the natives of India, the 'pagans' and 'heathens' as they were called.

As soon as the Portuguese had gained a foothold in India, Roman Catholic missionaries came and began organising institutions for the evangelisation of these 'heathens.' These institutions which confined their activities to the Portuguese possessions were of four types: (*a*) parochial elementary schools attached to churches and missionary centres; (*b*) orphanages for Indian children in which besides rudimentary instruction some sort of industrial and agricultural work was provided for; (*c*) Jesuit colleges for higher studies; (*d*) seminaries for theological instruction and training for priesthood.

Among the earliest and most known of these missionaries was Francisco Xavier (later canonised as St. Xavier), an associate of Ignatius Loyola. The Jesuits were well known promoters of education in Europe and they brought the same zeal and enthusiasm for education to India. Their inspiration led to the founding of many institutions including a university in Bandora near Bombay which, founded in 1575, continued to exist till 1739, and which conferred degrees.

But with the decline of the Portuguese power these institutions too suffered decline and the system built by them broke up. The Portuguese were followed by the English and the Danish. The Protestant missionaries then entered the field of Indian education. The Board of Directors of the East India Company evinced from early years a keen desire to propagate the Gospel and missionaries were allowed to embark on their ships. Later on, as we shall see, this policy changed. But at that time missionaries were welcomed and, as a part of their religious propaganda, they began to found schools.

About this time (in the early years of the 18th century) the Danish also became active in education. Under the inspiration of Francke, the well-known educator of Halle and the patronage of Frederick IV of Denmark, some missionaries came to India for preaching the Gospel. They chose Tranquebar near Madras as their centre of activities and began founding schools and orphanages. The work of Ziegenbalg, the most prominent among these missionaries, was so much appreciated by the English that when he visited England he was received in audience by George I. Another pioneer was Schwartz who with the help of the Raja of Tanjore opened in the last quarter of the 18th century schools for teaching English.

In 1717 the Danish missionaries with the permission of the Governor of Fort St. George opened two charity schools. The Company too in the same year started a school for Indian children. This was the beginning of the system of Government schools.

In Bombay too the missionaries were active. In 1718 Rev. Cobbe opened the first missionary school in the city of Bombay. In the beginning for many years it was supported by voluntary contributions. But in 1807 the Company took charge of it.

In Bengal too the missionaries were the pioneers in the field of education. The first school to be started by the English was founded in Calcutta in 1731. It was a Charity School opened by Chaplain Bellamy. In 1758 the Rev. Kiernander at the invitation of Col. Clive opened another school in Calcutta. In 1789 the Free School Society of Bengal was founded and it started several schools in Calcutta and its vicinity. Other agencies too were at work and slowly but steadily, western education began its career in this presidency.

The following extract from a Despatch from the Court of Directors, dated the 16th February, 1787, is of interest showing as it does the attitude of the Company as regards education :

> "The utility and importance of establishing a free and direct communication with the Natives having been sensibly experienced during the late war in India, and their acquiring a knowledge of the English language being the most effectual means of accomplishing the desirable object, it is with great pleasure we learn from Mr. John Sullivan, etc., etc................

"Highly approving of institutions calculated to establish mutual good faith, to enlighten the minds of the Natives and to impress them with sentiments of esteem and respect for this British nation, by making them acquainted with the leading features of our Government so favourable to the rights and happiness of mankind we have determined to evince our desire of promoting their (of the schools started by the Mr. Swartz referred to in the lines not quoted at the end of the above paragraph) success."[1]

For this end the Company aided directly and indirectly the missionary enterprises in the field of education. One interesting feature of the above extract is that it describes an objective of imparting English education which remained more or less the same for many years to come.

After the battle of Plassey and the assumption of wider powers by the Company, its officers began to view at proselytisation with alarm. As a result in a despatch issued in 1808 the Directors emphatically announced their desire of observing strict neutrality in religious matters and disfavoured missionary enterprises and thus discountenanced educational efforts of these bodies. This is the reason why Carey, Marshman and Ward on coming to India had to seek shelter under the Danish flag at Serampore for fear of being repatriated.

But the missionaries continued their efforts with unabated zeal and a long list of honoured names testifies to the solid and pioneering educational work which missionaries have accomplished in India.

Besides the missionaries there were other private bodies engaged in the field of education. By the first quarter of the nineteenth century many organisations like the Calcutta School Book Society were active in the different parts of the country. Among these, besides the one already named, mention may be made of the Calcutta School Society, Bombay Native School Society. By the twenties of the last century Mountstuart Elphinstone with the help of the Bombay Educational Society had begun his activities in the field of education in that province. Bengal had already a network of schools managed by different societies.

Among the individuals there were Captain Doveton, General Claude Martin, David Hare and others. In the Indians the desire for western education was generally gaining ground: This was the time when Raja Rammohun Roy began his work. He was joined by Raja Radhakanto Deb, and their co-operation with David Hare and others led to the foundation in 1811 of the Vidyalaya (later known as the Hindu College) in Calcutta. Of Raja Rammohun Roy I shall speak later.

---

[1] Quoted in the *Selection from Educational Records* (S.E.R.); Part I, pp. 3-4 Govern- [illegible]

Much earlier than these efforts do we come across the activities of individual officers in the employ of the Company. In 1781 Warren Hastings had founded the Calcutta Madrassa the object of which was "to qualify sons of Mohammadan gentlemen for responsible and lucrative offices in the State." In 1792 Jonathan Duncan, the Resident of Benares, had founded the Benares Sanskrit College. The Commissioner of the Deccan had started a college for Hindu learning at Poona.

But these were after all individual efforts. The Company as a whole did not at first recognise it as a part of their duty to impart education to the people of India. It was a trading rather than a ruling corporation. It had in fact come to India for business and found an empire at its feet.

" The first assertion that it was the duty of England to communicate to her Indian subjects, by the channel of education her intellectual and moral conceptions came not from statesmen and administrators but from religious reformers." [1]

When in 1793 the question arose of the renewal of the Company's charter there was already in existence in England as well as India a body of opinion which favoured the assumption by the Company of some responsibility in the direction of imparting education to the people of India. Wilberforce instigated by Charles Grant, a Director of the Company, insisted on sending "missionaries and schoolmasters" to India. But the opposition was great. In view of the unsettled conditions of the country the wisdom of taking such a step as might hurt the susceptibilities of the native population and thereby jeopardise the interest of the Company, was called into question. Then again there were others who sincerely believed that " the Hindus had as good a system of faith and morals as most people and that it would be madness to attempt their conversion or to give them any more learning or any other description of learning than what they already possessed." [2]

---

[1] *East India Company Act of 1813 (53, George III, c. 155)*, clause 43.

[2] *Report of the Calcutta University Commission*, Vol. I, pp. 31-32.

In the face of such opposition the attempt of Wilberforce proved fruitless. But in the meantime in 1811 Lord Minto had written a minute on the subject of education in India ; its chief theme was the lamentable decay of learning in the country. He was definitely of opinion that the Government should " interpose with a fostering hand the revival of letters "[1] in India.

So when in 1813, the charter of the Company once again came up for renewal, Wilberforce succeeded in inserting in it a clause to the effect that " It shall be lawful for the Governor General in Council to direct that......a sum of one lac of rupees in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India." [2]

This above statement is important inasmuch as it contains the first legislative admission of the right of education in India to participate in the public revenues. It also contains the germs of the controversy which raged for the following quarter of a century in the field of Indian education. The clause presents two distinct propositions ; first, the encouragement of the learned natives of India and the revival and improvement of literature; and secondly, the promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the people of the country.

In fact it represented a compromise between two different schools of opinion at first nebulous but gradually taking shape. One school was sympathetic towards oriental culture. Consequent on the discovery of Sanskrit literature by European scholars and their resultant zeal for this newly discovered source of an ancient civilisation, there was growing in England as well as India a strong body of opinion which strongly advocated the patronage of oriental learning. On the other hand, there was another school of thought, represented later by Macaulay, holding that the East had nothing good in its culture and civilisation, and all that was good must come from the West. In later years, these two opposing views crystallised to form the code of the 'Anglicists' and the 'Orientalists.' But of that later.

The immediate effect of this clause was the issue by the Court of Directors of the first education despatch in 1814. It took advantage of the vagueness of the clause and did nothing further than reiterate its faith in the half-hearted and indeterminate policy of encouraging here and there private and sporadic efforts of individual officers and the 'learned natives' of India; and the encouragement was for oriental learning only.

---

[1] Quoted in the *S.E.R.*, Part I, p. 17.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 19.

But the enemy was already abroad. In the meantime, the activity of the missionaries, which was to play so vital a part in the development of a new educational system, had begun. Men like Raja Rammohun Roy and David Hare had begun their work and Indian opinion was fast turning in favour of English education. The Hindu College had been opened and William Carey in 1818 founded the first missionary college at Serampore. Contact with the West in the persons of the officers of the Company had fired the imagination of the enlightened section of the Indian public who dreamt of a new and rejuvenated India taking her lawful place in the community of nations; they believed that this rejuvenation could be brought about not by sticking to the ancient lore of the country but by importing from the West the ideas and ideals which had made England what she was, a great and conquering nation.

In their efforts to introduce western learning into India the two groups of advocates worked at cross purposes, and there was a conflict of ideals between them. The one represented by Raja Rammohun Roy and the semi-rationalist school whose opinion he voiced, was mainly interested in secular education. The idea was that such a training would rid Indian society of many superstitions and evil institutions and would thereby pave the way to better conditions of life, religious, moral and social. On the other hand, to the missionaries western education was mainly an *evangelico praeparatio* which could ultimately lead to the christianisation of India.

However, divided as they were in their ultimate ideals the two sections joined hands and "the missionaries and the Hindu reformers between them succeeded in arousing a remarkable ferment of ideas in the Calcutta of the thirties; the educational revolution had begun."[1] But the Government still hesitated to patronise directly the western system of education and continued in its half-hearted policy of advocating oriental learning. And even there not much was being done. In fact the annual grant of a lac of rupees given since 1813 was not being properly spent.

---

[1] *Cal. Univ. Com.*, Vol. I, pp. 3-4.

About this time several surveys on the condition of education were set afoot in different parts of the country. Among these mention must be made of the survey inaugurated by Sir Thomas Munro in the provinces under the Madras Goverment in 1822 and another similar survey undertaken by the Government of Bombay. Though Mr. Adams's survey of Bengal education chronologically belongs to a later time (1835-38), it should be considered in this connection too.

Sir Thomas Munro entertained no doubt that education had been better in earlier times and said: "Low as the state of education in India is admitted to be, compared with that of our own country, it is even now higher than in most European countries at no very distant date." [1] In the course of this (Madras) survey, the Collector of Bellary submitted a report which also is interesting. According to this report 1 out of 67 of the population was receiving instruction in the native schools of the province. The Bombay survey gave the figures as 1 out of 133, while Mr. Adams admitted the existence of 100,000 schools scattered over the province of Bengal. All this indicates the existence of a widespread indigenous system of education.[2] But that the condition of this system was pitiable was the unanimous verdict of these surveys. They were of one opinion that there was a lamentable decay in learning, the number of its votaries and its quality. The Collector of Bellary, it is interesting to note, "ascribed this to the competition of foreign goods, the movement of troops, and the substitution of European for native rule which, despite a less rigorous enforcement of the revenue had impoverished the country." [3]

Such was the state of affairs in the twenties of the last century. A line of policy was clearly indicated herein. If the Government was bold, if it had believed in a clear-cut line of action, if it wanted to educate the masses and not the classes, and if, above all, it was inspired more with humanistic than utilitarian motives, the way was clear. Wretched as the condition of these indigenous institutions might have been, they could, with proper encouragement, be renovated and rejuvenated. The work would have begun not in the cities but in these villages and not in the few higher academic institutions of the country. But as we shall presently see, the Government did not clearly see the way, it was half-hearted in its endeavours. Then again it believed in the theory of classes and also in the ' filtration theory " (to which I shall refer again) of permeation of culture. As a result whatever action the Government took was for encouraging Sanskrit and Arabic, languages which had long since ceased to be living and which were confined among a few only of the vast population of the country. Only once, in 1844, under the inspiration of Lord Hardinge did this idea dawn in the minds of the Government that perhaps the sadly neglected indigenous village institutions might have been made use of ; but it was short-lived. By that time other forces had come into play which led to the complete neglect and consequent disorganisation of the once-wide system of indigenous village education.

---

[1] *S.E.R.*, Part I, p. 47.

[2] It would be interesting to note in this connection that in England in 1818 "for one child who had the opportunity of education three were left entirely ignorant." (Archdeacon Firminger in the Introduction to N. N. Law's *Promotion of Learning in India by the Early European Settlers.*)

[3] *S.E.R.*, Part I, p. 47.

I have already mentioned that the grant of a lac of rupees was not being properly spent. It was not till 1823 that this grant was appropriated for the purposes laid down in the Charter of 1813. In that year, the Governor General appointed a General Committee of Public Instruction " for the purpose of ascertaining the state of public education......and of the public institutions designed for its promotion, and of considering, and from time to time submitting to the Government the suggestion of such measures, as it may appear expedient to adopt with a view to the better instruction of the people to the introduction among them of useful knowledge and to the improvement of their moral character." [1]

This Committee was largely composed of men in favour of oriental classical learning and had as its General Secretary, H. H. Wilson, the great Sanskrit scholar. It therefore began with the completion of the organisation of a Sanskrit College in Calcutta, with the opening of new oriental colleges in Agra and Delhi, and with the printing of Sanskrit and Arabic books on a large scale.

---

[1] *S.E.R.*, Part I, p. 53.

But as I have said the enemy was already abroad in the land. Even the Directors had begun to veer round and resent the stress that was being given to oriental classical learning. And then the storm broke. The proposal for the foundation of a Sanskrit college in Calcutta brought forth the bitter attack of Raja Rammohun Roy against the whole scheme, in the form of a celebrated letter addressed to Lord Amherst, the Governor General of India. In this letter he gave vent to ideas of the advanced section of the traditional classical learning. This letter inaugurated a controversy which prolonged for more than ten years, was finally closed by the action of Lord Bentinck in deciding in favour of the position taken up by the Raja and advocated later on by Macaulay. Portions of this famous letter are still interesting reading.

Rammohun Roy wrote; " As the sum set apart for the instruction of the natives of India was intended by the Government of England for the improvement of its Indian subjects, I beg leave to state............that if the plan now adopted (referring to the proposed establishment of the Sanskrit college) be followed, it will completely defeat the object proposed ; since no improvement can be expected from inducing young men to consume a dozen of years of the most valuable period of their lives in acquiring the niceties of Vyakarana or Sanskrit grammar.

" In order to enable your Lordship to appreciate the utility of encouraging such imaginary learning as above characterised, I beg Your Lordship will be pleased to compare the state of science and literature in Europe before the time of Lord Bacon with the progress of knowledge made since he wrote.

" If it had been intended to keep the British nation in ignorance of real knowledge, the Baconian philosophy would not have been allowed to displace the system of Schoolmen, which was best calculated to perpetuate ignorance. In the same manner, the Sanskrit system of education would be the best calculated to keep this country in darkness, if such had been the policy of the British legislature." [1]

This memorial however was left unanswered and the proposed Sanskrit college was founded in spite of it.

---

[1] Trevelyan, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-71.

Thus we see that although the Court of Directors in England as well as the advanced section of the people in India had turned in favour of western education, the General Committee of Public Instruction was still pleading for oriental classical learning. In 1827 and 1829 the Court had sent two communications to the Governor General signifying their desire to promote more and more English education in preference to oriental learning. In the despatch of 1829 occur these words, " We are extremely desirous that their education should be such as to qualify them for higher situations in the civil government of India." [1] In the same year the Government wrote to the General Committee of Public Instruction that it was " the wish and admitted policy of the British Governmeut to render its language gradually and eventually the language of public business throughout the country " and that it would "omit no opportunity of giving every reasonable and practicable degree of encouragement to the execution of this project.[2]

In 1830 the Board of Directors sent another despatch to the Governor-General intimating their favourable attitude towards Engish education. They welcomed the indication shown by the Indians themselves to promote English literature and western sciences which, in their opinion, might be more advantageously studied in English than in translations. None the less the Directors did not wish that English should be exclusively used. In fact they issued a warning against the tendency to under-rate the importance of Indian languages for the purpose of medium of instruction. Curiously enough this emphasis laid by the Directors on the value of Indian languages was lacking when finally English education was introduced under official patronage.

In this despatch too we come across the theory which later on came to be known as the " filtration theory." This is what the despatch said: " The system of education by a thorough study of the English language could be placed within the reach of a very small portion of the Indian population but the intelligent Indians who had been thus educated might as teachers in schools or colleges or as translators and writers of useful books, contribute on an emiment degree to the more general extension among their countrymen of those accomplishments which they themselves had gained and might communicate in some degree to the native literature and to the minds of the native community that improved spirit which it is hoped they themselves will have imbued from the influence of European ideas and sentiments." [1]

---

[1] J. W. Raye; *The Administration of the E. I. Company*; p. 594.
[2] Trevelyan, *op. cit.*, p. 146, footnote.

Thus the 'filtration theory ' was first elaborated. Education was to permeate from the classes to the masses. Mr. Arthur Mayhew in his book, ' The Education of India' gives a picturesque interpretation of this theory. He says, " Drop by drop from the Himalayas of Indian life useful information was to trickle downwards forming in time a broad and stately stream to irrigate the thirsty plains." [2]

Was there any justification for this theory ? Certainly if one believes in classes there is some justification. But perhaps in this case the justification lay in the limited funds, paucity of text-books in Indian languages written on modern lines and above all the immediate need of the Government for a band of English-knowing Indian public servants who could run the machinery of the Government more cheaply than had hitherto been possible. Shorn of all rhetoric the theory meant nothing but this.

Mr. Mayhew has ably discussed at some length the results of this theory in the field of Indian education. It created a new caste in the caste-ridden Indian society. It had disastrous effects on the cultural life of India and " the Government in so far as many years back it originated and defended the filtration theory, must be held to deserve a beating."[3] " For, by so doing, it encouraged the separation of mass from class, town from country, western from eastern modes of thought and life, to which India, left to herself, has always been too prone. It established the idea that education is a luxury, an investment perhaps also for the thrifty, but an investment in which privileged classes will receive most assistance from the state. It also obscured the truth that the education of the people of India means nothing if it does not mean the development of the cultural instincts and the raising the material level of all classes of those peoples."[4]

To come to our point from this slight digression, all the communications referred to above indicated clearly which way the wind was blowing. From this to Bentinck's resolution was not a far cry and yet five long years had to pass before it could be introduced. In the meantime a fierce controversy raged inside the Committee of public

---

[1] *S. E. R.* Part I, p. 67.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 92.
[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 95.
[4] *Ibid.*

Instruction between the Anglicists and the Orientalists. The difference of opinion between the two schools of thought long delayed the business of the Committee. Almost everything which came before them was more or less involved in it. The two parties were equally balanced so that they were unable to make a forward movement in any direction. This state of things lasted for several years when the Committee seems to have come to a dead stop and the Government alone could set it in motion by giving a preponderance to one or other of the two opposing sections. The members therefore laid down before the Government a statement of the existing position and of the grounds of the conflicting opinions held by them. It was at this stage that Bentinck appointed Macaulay the Chairman of the Committee and the latter submitted his famous Minute in the beginning of 1835, in which year our history really begins.

Calcutta.

TWELVE YEARS OF FASCISM

PRAMATHANATH ROY, M.A., D.LITT.
Lecturer in Italian, Calcutta University.

I

THE rise of Fascism is considered by many to be due to the particular historical circumstances of the country during the post-war period. In so far as the events of the world carry an element of fatality with them, it is quite true that Fascism could evolve itself only on the then politico-economic conditions of Italy. But the explanation does not explain everything. It does not explain those spiritual elements of Fascism which we see today throwing into background the merely political and economic way of government. It does not explain how out of the fire-baptism of the war Italy, of all the countries, came out first to start a new career in the world. I consider Fascism to be a non-rational movement. However much the theorists of Fascism might speak and write about the " classe dirigente " and the Fascist aristocracy, to me Fascism seems to be the expression of the mass-mind of Italy, that mass-mind whose movements are always non-rational and which is the best custodian of the spiritual treasures of a nation's civilization. It is not for nothing that Mussolini, who by birth belongs to the humbler folk, sits at the head of the government. It is the non-rational mass-mind that, already stirred before but violently shaken by the shock of the war, took a fateful direction and Mussolini is the expression of that activity of the mass-mind. The particular politico-economic conditions were only contrivances of the destiny of the nation to help this reflowering of the people. My explanation may seem to be mystical, but where personalities are concerned, where the question involved is that of unexpected and sometimes inexplicable aspects which a historical incident assumes, one cannot avoid being mystical. And in fact, is there not, notwithstanding all our rational explanation, a mystery shrouding the entire evolution of human history ?

If we want to understand Fascism, we must go to the deepest depth of the science of sociology, we must dare to penetrate into race-metaphysics. Unless we do so, we cannot understand many of the acts of Mussolini, Italian Fascism, because is the expression of a national temper, of a special national outlook on life, an outlook that is determined by the entire tradition of the country. If it were a merely economico-political doctrine, it would have attained its goal and finished its mission by giving to the world its corporative system and the labour-charter. When it began its career, the economic question was the most pressing one, and its solution was the first vital necessity and so its attention was at first absorbed by it. And even today when it has to show before the world its record of achievement, it points to this because this is the thing that has the most universal appeal on account of its practical utility for all people that are suffering from the canker of modern economic evils. But it covers within its activity more subtle things, I should say also more important inasmuch as the characteristic politico-economic structure of Fascism will succeed and endure to the extent it succeeds to give those subtler things a more concrete and durable shape.

These subtle things consist in moulding, slowly but surely, the character, rather reawakening the slumbering qualities of the race—the qualities of the mighty Romans as tempered by the Catholic Church. I say the Catholic Church not as a rigid institution as we find it today. The original Catholic Church was the product of the union of Asiatic mysticism with the Roman instinct for universality and organization. This new catholicism, born out of the Asiatic and Roman union, kept the original Catholic church plastic but in course of time, with the development of formulas and dogmas, the church lost the plastic character, but not the people in whom the new element continued to thrive. Hence it is that side by side with that strong admiration for the Roman qualities that build up social solidarity and conduces to a practical evaluation of life, we find in Fascism a strong fascination for that mellow idealism of which this catholicism is the exponent and champion. Italian Fascism has this double characteristic of being intensely practical and at the same time intensely idealistic. In this it is a characteristic expression of the Italian mass-mind whose practicality is modified by its idealism and whose idealism is modified by its practical sense. We may look for political motives behind the Lateran treaty but this is so far as the Pope as the head of a religious. state is concerned. But what about the teaching of religion in the schools, what about the impetus that Fascism gives to the revival of many popular religious festivals, what about the constant reference which Fascism makes to the fundamental moral law of the world in its career of intense activity ? What about the claim that is made of St. Francis of Assisi as the most Fascist of all saints ? All these do not emanate, at least directly, from political motives. On the contrary, in the heart of Fascism there is a mystic throb that is in excellent rhythm with its many political throbbings and the idealistic side of Fascism is the external manifestation of that throb.

I have said that Fascism is an expression of the Italian mass-mind. To understand this let us analyse the character of the Italian people, particularly of the Italian peasant-folk. I think that the Italian peasant-folk have remained faithful to their ancient tradition. The mentality and outlook of the Italian peasant makes him a different man from his brother, say in Germany or England. The effects of the modern civilization have touched the fringe of his life so far as the fundamental social institutions and human relations are concerned. That economic view of life which is now so blatantly prominent in the entire Western world and even among the higher classes in Italy, has not that maddening fascination for him. Withal he understands very well the necessity of economic solidarity in life. This attitude makes him labour hard in order to render the economic position of his family sound, but does not induce him to sell anything but the surplus of his production in order only to buy the other necessaries of life. The family instinct is strong in him and induces him to take his midday meal at home surrounded by his wife and children, as also the meal at night. The proprietary instinct is also strong in him. He has to a large extent the spirit of obedience in him so long as no encroachment is made upon the sacred domain of his private life. He still maintains human relationship with his neighbours and the master. He has reverence for his Church and it is a very common sight in Italy to find peasant women kneeling down in the churches and with tears in their eyes making silent prayers to God. He celebrates religious festivals with the same sincerity as the Indian peasant does and names his children according to the names of different saints. But at the same time he is a tolerant man, preserving the Roman tradition of universality. It is difficult to detect any colour or race-prejudice in him. When he marries he prefers to go to the church rather than get into the bond according to the civil laws. And when he looks round him at the monumental structures in ruins, of which his country is full, he has a dim vision of the distant past of his country and an uneasy feeling in his mind.

At the same time he is to a certain extent conscious of the part he has played in history. He is conscious of the power he enjoyed during the republican days of Roman history. He is conscious of the part he played in the development of the communes and the entire idealism of the Renaissance period. The great thing in history is when history is made by the stirring of the soul of the entire people, when the process of historical evolution takes its birth in the inner workings of the mass-mind. This has been the case in India where the entire civilisation of Brahmanical tradition has been so often modified and remade by influences coming from the popular classes. This has also happened in Italy where the real history does not belong to the kings and the emperors but to the people.

With this flickering sense of its historical position in the past, this people had an awkward feeling of its present position in the world. Italy was so long walking along a bye-path of modern civilization, because modern civilization is made of those very elements which Italy lacks physically and mentally. Physically, modern civilisation is the product of coal and iron, the two things to the possession of which Italy cannot lay any claim and so with every scientific discovery that tended to industrial development and the production of wealth, she fell more and more into the background. The modern mentality is based on this industrial development and the production of wealth—a mentality whose chief concern is material comforts and individual aggrandizement. This is in discord with the formation of the Italian mind. In the Italian mind there is a strong combination of material and spiritual inclinations. The whole expression of the Italian mind in art, poetry and philosophy is a testimony to its incapability to adopt an entirely materialistic outlook on life. In the Italian mind matter must be spiritualised and the spirit must be made sensuous. In the Italian mind the two things may be seen to balance each other. As Major Barnes in his book on Fascism says:—"It constitutes a good example of the kind of mentality and of the kind of approach to the problems of life issuing from it. The view of life is eminently synthetic, arising from the habit of thinking intuitively."

With this physical and the mental conditions Italy could not keep pace with the progress of modern civilization and she felt her situation more bitterly on account of the attitude towards her of the other progressive nations who considered her to be an exhausted nation incapable of making any new effort. The bitterness was further increased by the mentality of the upper classes of her society who were very much under the influence of the oltre-alpe (trans-alpine) political and social thought.

The first expression of this awkward feeling in the mass-mind of Italy is to be found in the idealistic-religious aspect of the Risorgimento as developed by Mazzini and Gioberti. These two great thinkers perceived intuitively that if the Italian people were to rise again and play a new rôle in the world in competition with the other nations, they must develop along the line of their history, which line was in its turn traced by the moral outlook of the race. So these two writers emphasised the awakening of the moral qualities of the race and the development and preservation of those institutions in which these moral qualities were embodied. They recognised that for Italy the great problem was not merely liberty, but liberty with authority, and if this liberty with authority was to be obtained, the idea of liberty must be taken beyond the plane of politics and based upon the moral experience of the race, which experience revealed itself through the Church for Manzoni, through the State for Gioberti and through the conception of universalism for Mazzini. When liberty is thus based on the accumulated moral experience of the race, the individual loses that supremacy which he enjoys under the Jacobean conception of liberty. His rights are balanced by corresponding duties. So for these thinkers the conception of diritti e doveri (rights and duties), the element of religiousness in their outlook on life, the vision of the state as an ethical substance whose business is not merely to govern in a negative manner but to promote culture, morality and civilization in a positive way.

This is an attitude that is against the entire trend of the so-called modern civilization. This attitude has derived immense nutrition from the abovementioned feeling of the Italian mass-mind, because Italy has been made to feel that if she is to regain her former position in the hierarchy of nations, she can do so by creating a new ideal of life out of the elements of the character of her people and by imposing that ideal upon the world. She must go out into the world with

CKCU 177

the message that modern civilization has revealed its merits and demerits; the standard of value must now be changed and the civilization recast.

II

We are now in a position to understand how Fascism is a movement of the mass-mind of Italy, how its advent to power means not only the change of government but also the fall of a mentality. The neo-Europeans of Italy, who grew in number and were very influential and controlled the helm of affairs in the latter part of the nineteenth century, and continued to control it till the end of the war, maintained an attitude that was thoroughly trans-alpine. Their ideals were the ideals of 1789 and their consequent developments. In the field of thought they exalted and looked up for inspiration to the masters of positivism and materialism. In the field of politics they tried to experiment with the demo-liberal form of government, believing in the fundamental rights of men. In the field of economics they tried to import the ideas of Marxian socialism and organise labour into trade-unions and syndicates. It is unnecessary to go into the details of the chaos in Italian political life that existed during the entire period of the control of affairs by these neo-Europeans. Suffice it to say that as a result of their creating a State that was an instrument for personal egoisms of individuals, the country headed towards a process of dissolution and anarchy, and the forces of the state were reduced to the minimum of strength.

Fascism is a reaction against this neo-European mentality and a vigorous reassertion of the spirit of the Italian people. So its chief significance is not so much political as moral, and that it is a movement of the people is evident from its determination to give prominence to the moral qualities of the Italian mass and to pursue a programme of reconstruction that is based on the characteristic qualities of the mind and character of the race. We have seen the moral qualities of the Italian people. Fascism eulogises these and sets before it a definite standard of character, based on these qualities. Its very success and rapid growth indicates that it is a thing of the soil. Fascism intends to make the traditions and mentality of the Italian mass the basis of its programme for spiritual renovation of the country, because that is not only the line of least resistance but also the one

GS 1443

that would give the best results. The corporative organization of society comes from its Roman sense of social solidarity ; the preservation of individual initiative and private ownership in the field of production comes from its proprietary instinct ; the rejection of material outlook on life by Fascism comes from the peculiar formation of the Italian mind ; Fascism's reverence for the institution of family comes from its deep family instinct ; and the programme of ruralization is adopted not only because the greater part of the Italian mass is agricultural but also because it is favourable to the development and preservation of the anti-materialistic qualities of the race.

We see how closely the two expressions of the Italian mass-mind, the Risorgimento of Manzoni, Mazzini and Gioberti and the Fascism of Mussolini, resemble in their general features, in their conception of liberty and duty, in their exaltation of the idea of Romanity or rather Italianity, in their idealistic and religious approach to life, in their conception of the ordering of society under an ethical state, in their recognition of the necessity of establishing a moral standard of value. Fascism has returned to the spirit of the Risorgimento, or rather the spirit of the Risorgimento, which suffered a setback from the acute political and economic problems of the country and the other handicaps from which a newly-born nation suffers and was overpowered by the fascinating ideologies of the nineteenth century, has reappeared in the garb of Fascism after the war had reduced to ashes the debris of these ideologies.

Fascism is thus a new welt-anschauung, rather an old welt-anschauung in a new form. It appeared first as a political and economic doctrine because it was primarily a reaction against modern civilization which is political and economic. But the quintessence of Fascism consists in a moral vision of life, in the perception of a moral law operating in the heart of the world and in tuning the rhythm of individual as well as social activity to the operation of this moral law. Hence in Fascism it is not the majority that counts but the minority that feels within itself the operation of this moral law. This minority when acting in accordance with this moral law, cannot but act in a manner that will lead to general welfare. It is in this sense, and in this sense alone, that there is justification for " Fascist Aristocracy" in the art of government, which is not an aristocracy of birth or money but of moral perception. The glory of the Fascist state also consists in this that it centralises and regulates the entire moral activity of the race. It is a state that is not a legal contract, it is not an artificial creation of the individual, but a natural and organic exigence, immanent in the spirit of the individual himself and a postulate to his morality. This is what is meant by the ethical State and explains the dictum of Mussolini : " Everything within the State, nothing outside the State, nothing against the State."

Fascism being essentially a moral vision of life, the chief task for Fascism is the education of the race and the proper formation of the character thereof. It may be said that if Fascism is a movement of the mass-mind, the character already exists. Yes, but it exists in an amorphous state. It is necessary to bring this character into relief by giving it a greater coherence and exhibiting all its brightness after removing the dirty crusts of four centuries of decadence. So if anybody asks me what are the most important institutions of Fascism, I shall not name its political or economic institutions, but those that are connected with the proper training of the race.

The first of these in importance is certainly the educational organization of Fascism. And this is recognised by Mussolini when he says that " the most fascist of all reforms is the reform of education." The aim of this educational reform is to produce that balanced life which Fascism considers as its ideal. Man is made up of the mind, the body and the spirit. Modern education is too much intellectual, too much a matter of specialization, with the result that it leads to a one-sided development of human character. The aim of Fascism is to unify and integrate the different sides of human nature so that the character formed under education may have a harmony, which harmony in individual life will ultimately lead to the promotion of social harmony and the harmony of the activity of the State. The body must have its proper care and growth, just as the mind and the spirit. The mind should not grow at the expense of the body and the spirit and the spirit cannot be kept starved to feed the body and the mind. A sort of musical harmony between them must exist. So Fascism promotes sport and includes in its educational pragramme religion and the aesthetic subjects. And if this new educational reform is to produce its desired effect, the greatest care should be taken in the education that is imparted in the elementary and primary schools, because the nation lives in children. So the greatest reform has been made in the school-curriculum. The imparting of education in the schools has been brought directly under the control of the State. The State prepares the syllabus and text-books are written according to that syllabus. The examination is also controlled by the State. There is one prescribed book containing the entire course in religion, grammar, literature, arithmetic, history, geography, general culture, principal physical phenomena in relation to human life, calligraphy and drawing. The reform was at first promoted by Gentile and it was supplemented by the Royal Decree of Nov. 5, 1930, which fixed the programme of examination in every subject. Before me now lies such a book written according to the syllabus fixed by the State. As I go through it, I perceive how the whole thing has been designed not only to give an essential all-round knowledge to the pupil but also to develop the mental and moral qualities according to the Fascist ideal. The historical portion contains sketches of the men who have made the history of the country and nourishes the nationalistic spirit. The cultural portion gives an idea of the arts, professions and trades, of the family, the communes, the State and the regime and lays down the principal rights and duties of the citizen. It is significant that the duties are placed first and the rights after them. The chief duties of the citizen are (1) obedience, (2) lending military service, (3) payment of taxes. The chief rights are: (1) equality of all citizens in the eye of the law, (2) the right of ownership, (3) personal liberty, (4) liberty of thought and of the press and of forming associations so long as it does not involve the safety of the State and the tranquillity of the citizens, and (5) the right to vote. Physical education begins with simple drill in the elementary schools and ends with the training imparted by the Academy for Physical Education. There is also compulsory military training for eighteen months for all adults. The impetus given by Fascism to physical education is evident in the many championships established by the State and the Communes all over Italy.

Next to the educational organization come the Balilla, Avanguadisti and Giovani Fascisti (young fascists) organizations. It is through these organizations that Fascism is injecting its spirit into the race. The most important ideals of Fascism are the ancient

Roman discipline and hierarchy. These two ideals are being realized through these organizations. There are three age-divisions according to the three different organizations. The Balilla organization is for boys from 8 to 14 years of age, the Avanguardisti from 14 to 18, the Giovani Fascisti from 18 to 21, after which age the members become full-fledged fascists. The name Balilla has a history behind it. On the 6th of December, 1746, a heavy artillery waggon, which the Austrians were dragging along the streets of the city of Genoa, got stuck into the ground rendered soft by the rain. The officer who commanded the company ordered the Italian passers-by to help the soldiers to disengage the waggon, and seeing that the passers-by did not seem to hear him, he caught hold of some and whipped them, trying by this method to make them obey his orders. At this act, a boy of eleven, named Gian Battista Perasso, nicknamed Balilla, picked up a big piece of stone and hurled it at the officer who, struck violently on the forehead, fell to the ground. After this, in a few minutes, all the people came down to the street and there was a regular organised revolt and the Austrians were driven out of Genoa.

Side by side with these organizations, there is another organization known as Fasci all 'Estero, which carries the spirit of Italianity and the ideal of Fascism to those who have been forced to leave the motherland and live under foreign skies. These organizations are the supreme examples of how Fascism is rearing up the new Italian race. This summer I had the privilege of seeing the members of these youth organizations assembled in Rome in two camps and, from the talk that I had with many of them, I could feel how the entire nation was slowly but surely regaining its lost self through these young flowers of the race. There were about sixty thousand of them come from all parts of Italy and from over 120 foreign towns and countries. For two months they lived in camps like soldiers under the strict discipline of the military camp life, with the routine of the daily life fixed beforehand and rigorously followed. Little boys and inexperienced youngsters, how cheerfully they submitted themselves to this discipline, far away from their parents and affectionate relations ! The camps, the uniforms, the expenses of travel and the daily expenses of each and every boy were supplied by the State. A huge expenditure it might be said, but it is the most judicious investment that the State is making because the hope of Italy, the triumph of Italianity, lies in them ; because it is on this new generation trained under the Fascist method that the continuation of the political and economic institutions of Fascism depends. The happiest sign in the movement is that it is supported by the people. Most of the members of the organizations come from the labouring classes. In my talks with them I found how the fire of patriotism was burning in the souls of these young creatures and how keenly they appreciated the many good things that the Fascist regime has been doing for the people. One boy told me: "Formerly in Italy everybody considered himself important and nobody wanted to follow. The misery of Italy was due to that. Now the things are changed. Now we follow Mussolini because Mussolini is always right."

The feeling that Mussolini is always right is very common among the popular classes. This is the greatest source of strength for Fascism. This source has been tapped not by coercion but by winning the sympathy of the people through many good deeds. It is wrong to consider Fascism as a capitalistic regime. In the beginning it had the sympathy of the capitalists. But it was a temporary phase of Fascism determined by the circumstances of the country. The capitalistic sympathy was utilised by Fascism in order to strengthen itself to fight against the Bolshevic forces that ruled Italian life at the time. But it did not mean any domination of Fascism by Capitalism. Fascism was anti-Bolshevic but it was not anti-Labour. In fact, the capitalistic influence lasted so long as Fascism remained a party-movement, but as soon as it came to power and identified itself with the State and the nation, it got rid of the capitalistic influence by its own inner revolutionary force and took up the positive side of the socialistic programme. The socialists by emphasising their negative programme of ruining capitalism by means of strikes and anti-statal activities, paralyzed industry and weakened the State, but they themselves had not the courage to take the entire responsibility of the State and industry on them. This disappointed a large part of the urban as well as rural proletariat of Italy and with the growing strength of Fascism many of the proletarian organizations in the country and the town came over to its side. And Fascism has ever since been acting as the guardian angel of the Italian proletariat. If the conditions of any classes have been ameliorated under the Fascist regime, it is that of the popular classes. The Fascist government cares for them with paternal love. Conditions of labour have been remarkably improved and so also the housing conditions. The regime has built many quarters where the poor may have accommodation at a cheap rate.

Lands have been reclaimed and colonies built for the popular classes. The celebrated Littoria is a colony built by the regime where quarters have been constructed for nearly fifty thousand families with all modern comforts. Of late another colony has been established at Sabaudia. What is admirable in Fascism is the frankness and honesty of intentions with which it approaches the people. There is a ring of sincerity in its appeal to the people which the mass immediately appreciates. There is one particular institution through which the regime is winning the affection of the people. It is the Opera Nazionale Dopo-Lavoro (After-Work Labour Association). This institution whose branches are spread over the whole of Italy in as much as every trade-union has a dopolavoro organization, looks after the development of the physical, intellectual and moral capacity of the people. It has established physical culture institutes, clubs and libraries for the working people. And during my brief stay in Italy, I have noticed how this institute provides for other amenities of life for the people. In the cinema, in the theatre, in every other kind of amusements there is a special dopolavoro ticket for the people. There are special trains at a nominal price for tickets to enable the popular classes to make holiday trips. Another concession which has a permanent character, is the reduction of railway fares amounting to 80% for newly married couples. The joys of art, music, sport, and travel are thus brought to the doors of the people by the State.

Another institute which cares for the race and is at the same time an instrument for winning the sympathy of the people, is the Opera Nazionale per la Protezione ed Assistenza della Maternita ed Infanzia. (Maternity and Infant Welfare Society). I visited one such institute and saw parturient mothers lying in bed and newly-born babies left in care of the State while the mothers were away for the day's work. This particular institute has arrangements for three kinds of work:—(1) to assist in parturition, (2) to care for babies who are deserted by their parents, and (3) to look after babies and children whose mothers are away for day's work. The mothers of these babies and children leave them in care of the institute in the morning and take them back in the evening when the day's work is done. In another part of this institute I came across a most remarkable thing. In this part the rooms were occupied by adults and children of both the sexes. When I entered there, the children were running about and making a noise. Some of the adults were chattering, increasing the noise that the children were making. Others were sitting silent. All of them were ill-clad and had the shadow of misfortune on their faces. I asked the director who they were and why they were here. The director told me that they were all families that could not pay their rent and were ejected by their landlords. Poor creatures! They were given shelter there by the State against the inclemency of fortune and provided with food. There is a constant influx of such families. They stay here for ten, fifteen or twenty days till a means of sustenance and housing accommodation are found for them. Here is a fact that speaks for itself.

I have mentioned only a few of the activities of Fascism. It is not possible to mention all the constructive and reconstructive activities of the regime within the brief space of an article. It may also appear that I have minimised the political and economic activities of Fascism. But the signal results achieved by Fascism in these two fields are well known. Fascism has established a sort of friendship between the political and economic activities of the State—a result which has not been achieved by any other nation and the lack of which is the cause of many maladjustments in life that we find to-day. During the twelve years of its existence it has placed Italy in a sound economic position. In these days of crisis the lira has maintained its sound position. While in other and richer countries it has been found necessary to abandon the Gold standard, Italy has steadily declined to do so. This is because Italy has resolutely opposed loans to foreign countries and the scarcity of Italian money outside Italy safeguards it against foreign speculation. Italian exportation also shows a tendency to increase in these days of crisis, and the Gold reserve of the Bank of Italy follows an ascending curve. During these twelve years Fascism has much improved all the public services and has undertaken and completed public works and works of land reclamation on a vast scale, thus diminishing the number of the unemployed. The report published recently by the English Ministry of Commerce on the economic situation of Italy says in its conclusion that the general tendency of the country is toward optimism, that the courage and firmness which Italy is showing in developing a new form of economico-social national life is admirable, that the results obtained up till now and the ideals aimed at by this great experiment deserve the greatest attention on the part of the rest of the world.

I shall conclude this article by answering one question. What has been the effect of twelve years of Fascism upon the spirit of the race? In my book on Mussolini I wrote that it was as yet early for Fascism to produce any moulding effect upon the mentality of the race. But now a generation seems to have arisen with a distinct Fascist mould of the mind. Twelve years of ceaseless efforts which Fascism has made to train the race has not gone in vain. Before me lies the special number of a journal, the *Saggaiatore*, in which sixty young Italian writers have expressed their views about the modern civilisation. Remarkable is the similarity of their tone, which reveals a vigorous breaking away from the old mentality. All these young intellectuals are imbued with the Fascist spirit of idealistic realism, if I may so express it, with that mystic, intuitive conception of life of which I have spoken before. It is significant how these young writers consider reality. Reality for them is the obstacle for transforming the spirit into something better. Reality thus loses its charm in itself and gains in value only in relation to the spirit. The conception of life thus becomes dynamic and transcendental. The ideology of man the economic being, which is the fundamental conception of Capitalism and Bolshevism, is thrown overboard and in its place is installed the ideology of the integral man—man the political being, the economic being, the religious being, the saint, the warrior. This was emphasised by Mussolini in his latest and famous discourse on corporations and the new mentality is the expression of this integral man. Here lies the essential difference between Bolshevism and Fascism. Fascism can fearlessly go all the length with Bolshevism in its economic programme if that is necessary, but in one case the fundamental conception or mentality is the continuation of the liberal theory, in the other the conception is accepted and surpassed. The rise of Fascist mentality and its projection into the world therefore means the downfall of the capitalistic and socialistic mentality. In this mentality of the young Italian intellectuals return the activism of the Roman Italy, the mysticism of the mediaeval Italy, and the political and speculative philosophy of modern Italy as developed by Vico, Cuoco, Gioberti, Mazzini, Spaventa and others. The synthetic expression of this mentality is to be found in the character and personality of Mussolini and drawing inspiration from his example this great, intelligent and laborious people, through its new generations, is moving towards a complete realization of a new and better order of things and towards creating a new national patrimony of inestimable value.

Rome.

CENTRAL LIBRARY
UNIVERS

SOME NOVELS OF RABINDRANATH

JAYANTA KUMAR DASGUPTA, M.A., PH.D. (LONDON)

THOUGH it is principally as a poet that Rabindranath Tagore is known to the outside world, he has written several novels which provide good materials for a critical study. Tagore's earliest novels *Bauṭhākurāṇīr Hāt* (1884) and *Rājarshi* (1885) are based on history and have an historical background. He has taken the subject-matter of these stories from the local history of several Bengal districts and though in them tradition has been blended with history, the main characters are historical personages.

Bauṭhākurāṇīr Hāt describes certain events which happened during the reign of Pratapaditya at Jessore. The main plot of the novel centres round his daughter Bibha who was married to Raja Ramchandra Ray of Chandradvip. This Ray was extremely fond of his court-fool whose unbalanced jokes in the ladies' apartments Pratap resented and as a punishment ordered that his son-in-law should be killed. But Ramchandra managed to escape leaving his wife behind and when she subsequently went to her husband's place he refused to acknowledge Bibha as his wife. She spent the rest of her life at Benares. Such in a nutshell is the main story. The novel does not show Pratap in a good light and on the contrary probably does him positive injustice.[1] But Rabindranath was following tradition and was not in a position to investigate the historical veracity of the matter. Udayaditya is a much better creation than his father and Basanta Ray, the aged uncle of Pratap, always ready with his songs was the beginning of the character of Dada Mahasay who comes in so prominently in some of the later works of Tagore like *Sāradotsab*" (1908), *Rājā* (1910), and *Phālguni* (1916).

It would be interesting to examine the historical basis of this novel. In Westland's *Report on the District of Jessore* (1871) there is no reference to the alleged affair about Ramchandra Ray.

---

[1] *Bangādhīp Parājaya* (1869) of Pratapchandra Ghosh gives a picture of Pratap which is almost similar. Ram Basu in *Raja Pratāpaditya Charitra* (1801) writes that Pratap intended to kill Ramchandra to fulfil his own ambitions.

L. S. S. O'Malley in the *Jessore District Gazetteer* is silent on this point. Beveridge in his *District of Bakarganj* says nothing about Raja Ramchandra refusing to take back his wife. In the *Bengal District Gazetteer* (Bakarganj) J. C. Jack refers to the tradition that Ramchandra abandoned his first wife (P. 134).

Rajarsi is based on incidents which happened during the second half of the seventeenth century in the Tipperah district. King Govinda Manikya of Tipperah was fascinated by two children, one of whom seeing blood on the steps of the bathing ghat near the royal temple queried, " Why is there so much blood ? " The king could not give any satisfactory reply and he decided that this useless bloodshed in the name of worship of the goddess Kali should be stopped.[1] The girl Hashi passed away after an illness and the happy picture of her child-life left a deep impression on the mind of the king. Rabindranath's deep insight into child psychology has been again and again seen in his works and rather remarkably in books like *Śiśu* (1904) and *Śiśu Bholānāth* (1922). The priest of the temple, Raghupati, conspires with the king's brother, Nakshatra Ray, to shed the blood of the child Dhruba to please the goddess. But Govinda cannot forgive them and they are exiled from the kingdom. The king declares " So long as I occupy this throne, I am friend to no one, I am nobody's brother." Further he says, " Who am I to forgive ? I am bound by my own laws ? The judge has similar obligations like the culprit. How can it be said that I condemn one man for an offence and pardon another for the same ? "[2] Therefore the punishment of his brother was a self-inflicted blow to the king himself.

The moral tone of this novel is high. Govinda Manikya personifies Tagore's ideals of ancient Indian kings who when the need arose could leave their thrones and robes behind them and embrace the life of the forests. When Govinda left his throne he saw a new meaning in the life of man. So long he had lived the personal life of a king but now he had something to do in a broader world. He found that his God was not outside humanity.[3] In a letter Rabindranath says," The current of all my perception and composition has centred round man. Again and again I have evoked the divine, again and again has man responded."[1] An earlier appearance of this idea is seen in this novel. Rabindranath's love for humanity is seen in the conception of the character of Bilhan Thakur who saw no distinction between one man and another and served all alike. He was of opinion that happiness is within the self of man and one need not go elsewhere for it. The character of Raghupati is an instance of Rabindranath's protest against blind bigotry and sacerdotal tyranny.[2] The novel is not without its comic elements. The Khura Sahib or the Uncle of Vijaygarh Fort is a simple-hearted old man who thinks that the place he lived in was the safest and strongest. No less enjoyable than his conversation is the almost idiotic foolishness of Nakshatra Ray himself and last but not the least is the humorous relief afforded by the talk of the villagers who come to propitiate the goddess.

---

[1] In *My Reminiscences* (p. 243), Tagore describes how during a train journey he dreamt of a girl asking her father, " Father, what is this ? · Why is all this bloodshed ? "

[2] *Rājarsi*, Ch. XVIII. *Cf.* " Vichārak " in *Kathā O Kāhinī.*

[3] *Cf.* Rabindranath, Patradhārā, *Prabāsi*, Kārtik, 1338, Vol. 31, Pt. II, No. 1.

From historical fiction Rabindranath turned his attention to social novels or more truly speaking novels in which the relationship of man and woman is prominently discussed. In the intervening period between the publication of the preceding novels and that of *Chokher Bāli* (English translation, *Eyesore*, 1914) he had written a large number of short stories. This novel which came out in 1903 is not what is strictly understood by a modern sex-novel. In *Chokher Bāli* there is an element of sex, but it is approached from a point of view which is rather novel. The widow was nothing new in Bengali life, in Rabindranath's short stories also she has had her share of treatment.[3] But Binodini was a problem. Mahendra was puzzled. She was a new experience to him. Her wit and beauty attracted him and he felt that he was being irresistibly drawn to Binodini. As one who had not been able to experience in her life the love of a man, she also found pleasure in thinking that Mahendra should pursue her. But excepting the mere pleasure that she found in angling at him there was nothing more in her attitude to him.

In order to understand the real situation it is necessary to go back to earlier events. After Mahendra's marriage he had forgotten everything else and found that there was a flaw somewhere in his married life. He had separated love from all other duties in life. Rabindranath truly observes, "Love cannot keep itself alive with its own sweetness if like a flower it is plucked and separated from the harsh duties of the world, gradually it wanes and withers." Love must have its root in work. In the festival of love two persons are no company. Asa required a friend and Binodini's friendship with Asha was cemented by a pet name. Binod tells Asha that there must not always be placidity in love. Like pepper in curry love must have its angry moods.[1] When Mahendra was feeling a sort of monotony in his love Binodini appeared in his life. His friend Bihari guessed that serious consequences might follow from this acquaintance. It was not easy to bluff him. He felt that some tangle was getting ready and he spoke to Mahendra about the mischief that was coming. This warning was not received in a friendly light. But even Bihari did not fully understand Binodini. For a time he began to think that Binodini had another self.

---

[1] Two letters of Tagore, *Bhāratbarṣa*, Srāban, 1338, Vol. XIX, Pt. I, No. 2.

[2] *Cf. Rājā o Rānī*, Act I, Sc. I, what Vikramdev says about priests.

[3] *Cf.* Kusum in *Renunciation*, the widow in *My Fair Neighbour*, the widow in the *Skeleton*, Mahāmāyā in *Mahāmāyā*.

Binodini found pleasure in finding out that Mahendra was enamoured of her. He was conquered and Binodini was determined that the happiness of others should be wrecked. Bihari fell into disgrace at this juncture and was accused of secretly loving Asa. The storm then came. Binodini never loved Mahendra. Her pleasure was in spoiling his happiness. She knew that Bihari respected her and she openly avowed to him that she loved him. It was her desire to be loved in return even for a moment only. From this time a change came over his life. To him she was like a beautiful puzzle. He eventually offered to marry her. But she said, " I am a widow, I am spoken of badly in society, it can never be that I should insult you before society." Curiously enough, this was the identical answer that Sabitri in Saratchandra's *Charitrahin* gave to Satish when he proposed to marry her. When Mahendra realised his folly he returned to his heart-broken mother and wife. Bihari dedicated his life to the service of others.

The character of Mahendra shows him as an unbalanced man. Too much indulgence had spoiled him. He went to find a bride for his friend and married her himself. Over his wife he used to have quarrels with his mother. His faithful friend was accused by him of meanness. But in every crisis in his life it was Bihari who came to his rescue. His unstable nature was responsible for his infatuation for Binodini. The friendship of Mahendra and Bihari resembles that of Gora and Binay. Bihari was loved by Rajlakshmi as her own son.[1] The happiness of Mahendra was the first lookout of Bihari. Once he had been willing to marry but Mahendra married that girl, yet towards his friend he felt no rancour. Even Asa became his admirer. Happiness had escaped his grasp and he could find nothing better in life than passing the rest of his days in the service of suffering humanity, the most fitting end to a career in which there was nothing but ungrudging service to others.

---

[1] *Cf.* " It is hardly necessary to tell you that the ordinary female is fond of sour green mangoes, hot chillies and a stern husband "—Rabindranath, *Broken Ties and other Stories*, p. 198.

Naukādubi (English translation, *The Wreck*, 1921) was published in 1906. It is a novel which aims to show the relation between man and woman in society. Kamala became a problem in Romesh's life after his rather unusual bride-finding. He knew that she was not his wife but he could not break the news to one who regarded him as her husband. His strange attitude often puzzled Kamala. Romesh loved Hemnalini and she reciprocated that love. Yet he could not marry her till he was sure about Kamala. Akshay was a meddlesome person. He is another Panu Babu and he upsets everything in the life of Kamala, Romesh and Hem. Finding it difficult to live in Calcutta Romesh came to Ghazipur but accidentally Kamala came to know that she was not his wife. She left for Benares where she eventually found her real husband Nalinaksha.

The complexity of the plot centres round Romesh and Kamala and the awkward situation that they were placed in. Rabindranath has made it perfectly clear in this novel that the relationship between man and woman should not be bound by conventional social ideas. The mere fact that Kamala had lived for some time in Romesh's house without knowing that he was not her husband should in no way lower her in the estimation of others. The moment she came to know that this man was not her husband her whole being revolted against the idea of stopping any more under his roof. In her very nature was ingrained ideas of wifehood. Hemnalini is another type, a rather new type of women in Bengali fiction. Annada

---

[1] For a comparison with Bihari can be cited Pratap in "Subha" (*Stories from Tagore*) : ' Now losels have this advantage, that, though their own folk disapprove of them, they are generally popular with everyone else. Having no work to chain them, they become public property. Just as every town needs an open space where all may breathe; so a village needs two or three gentlemen of leisure, who can give time to all ; then, if we are lazy and want a companion, one is to hand."—*Ibid*, p. 75.

Babu was later developed into Paresh Babu in *Gorā*, Akshay and Jogen are as inseparable as Mahendra and Bihari. Saila and Kamala find a counterpart in Lalita and Sucharita. Nalinaksha's mother is an introduction to Gora's mother Anandamayi. These two novels (*Chokher Bāli* and *Naukādubi*) have been criticised as "incredibly bad" by a responsible critic of Tagore and his comment is, "A charming style and fine description are not enough in a novel ; and the stories are botched." On first consideration this criticism might seem to be an exaggeration. But really speaking Rabindranath is not so successful in his earlier novels as he is in the short stories which he wrote between 1890 and 1900. The compactness of the short story scored an advantage over the broader area of the novel.

Gorā was published in 1909 (English Translation, 1924). It belongs to that period in Tagore's career which some of his critics regard as one of unrest and change. The publication of *Gorā* was preceded by years of unrest and political turmoil in Bengal and although Rabindranath has never been an active politician, he has seldom failed to make common cause with the rest of his countrymen.[1] In this novel he gives free play to many of his ideas about problems affecting his country.

Gora, the hero of the novel, and Binay, his friend were Hindus and were president and secretary respectively of a kind of Hindu association.[2] Gora was very particular in observing the formalities of his religion, while Binay was more liberal in his ideas. When Binay began to visit a Brahmo family Gora was not well disposed towards him. But gradually his attitude relaxed and a change came over him. He found a new meaning in woman. He identified her with his country. When his friend married Lalita, Gora was not certainly pleased. One day it was revealed to him that he was not Hindu, not an Indian, but an Irish foundling and had been brought up by Hindu parents as their son. From that day he felt that he was really worthy of serving India and her millions. So long false barriers had separated him from the rest of his countrymen. Now he belonged to every caste in India. He regarded himself as a worshipper of that God whose temple doors are open to all, who was the God not only of the Hindu, but also of every Indian. He had no longer any fear of contamination. He came back home and said to Anandamayi, " Mother, you are really my mother, the mother whom I have been looking for elsewhere is in my own home. You have no caste, you see no differences, you have no contempt. You are the image of blessedness. You are my India." [1]

---

[1] Rabindranath's contemporary writings on social and political questions are *Samuha* (1908), *Rājāprajā* (1908), *Svades* (1908), *Samāj* (1908), *Bhāratbarsha* (1906).

[2] For such "associations" *cf.*, Tagore—"The Supreme Night" (*Mashi and other Stories*, p. 63) : "The 'leaders' of our associations delivered speeches, and we went begging for subscriptions from door to door in the hot blaze of the noon without breaking our fast; or we stood by the roadside distributing hand-bills, or arranged chairs and benches in the lecture-hall, and, if anybody whispered a word against our leader, we got ready to fight him."

Gora was a man with many ideas. He believed in work for the masses, rural reconstruction, village propaganda and personal contact with his countrymen. Gora believed in ideas but he believed in work also. But there was one drawback in his nature ; he had no love for foreigners. In fact he took some delight in picking up quarrels with them. Any insult to his countrymen touched him painfully. He could not tolerate anything said falsely against his countrymen. To Panu Babu he said, " Lie is itself a sin, false calumny is a greater sin and there are few sins like speaking falsely against one's own countrymen " (p. 64). India to him did not mean the city of Calcutta, its offices, its buildings, its creations of brick and mortar. India to him meant something greater and grander. It was the universal aspect of India that appealed to him. His orthodoxy had its root in his deep love for India. He observed caste distinctions as he observed social laws. He came into clash with Krishnadayal for his religious beliefs. Krishnadayal stands for the old generation, while Gora typifies the new.[2] It was inevitable that they should differ.

Gora was a patriot. He saw the goddess of his country not in beauty, but in famine, poverty and misery. Her worship had to be done not with flowers and songs, but with the blood of the heart. The devotee had to offer himself unreservedly. It was cruel and terrible and the whirlwind dance of life was there. Above the flames of fire he could see the dawn of happiness. He believed that India would be free and his countrymen ought to get ready for that day. The fight for freedom had begun and every moment it was going on. He was against the imitation of the English as in his opinion that imitation would never be perfect. The only salvation for India lay in service from inside. He saw that rural India was divided among itself, it was weak, narrow-minded, unconscious of its own power, ignorant and indifferent to its own welfare. Both the rich and the poor were in the fold of ignorance and superstition. He interested himself in the affairs of the tenants of Char Ghoshpur with the result that he was put into jail.[1] But he was not in the least sorry. His place was with the rest of his countrymen.

---

[1] See Introducion to *Diary of a Traveller to Europe* for Tagore's condemnation of that form of Hinduism which is more concerned with the outward formalities of religion.

[2] *Cf.* The " Trust Property," the " Riddle Solved " in *Mashi and other Stories.*

He told Sucharita that the Hindus belonged to no sect, they were a nation. As the sea is not mere waves, so the Hindu does not fall within the category of a sect. He regarded the internal divisions among the Hindus as signs of life. He believed that the great truths that had been said in India, the great things that had been done in India could not all be false. Hinduism had given shelter to people of various creeds. Hinduism regards man as man and not as a member of a particular group. Hinduism has place in it for the ignorant as well as the learned and it acknowledges not merely one system of knowledge but also different aspects of it. Gora supported idol worship. He thought that in the Hindu worship of images imagination was combined with knowledge and devotion. Krishna, Radha, Hara, Parvati were not merely time-honoured objects of worship, but they were the outward expressions of the eternal knowledge of man.

Regarding woman Gora had distinct ideas: " As day and night are the two divisions of time, man and woman are the two parts of society. In the normal state of society woman was hidden like night and her work was done in secret. In the abnormal stage of society day is forcibly made into night....Man and woman are two aspects of the same social force. Man is expressive, but because he is expressive it does not follow that he is greater " (p. 124). Sucharita gradually appeared to him as the feminine spirit of India. She was come to make the homes of India pleasant and sacred with holiness, beauty and love. She was the goddess of giving who made the children of India men, nursed the sick, and consoled the weary. Gora felt that because woman was ignored and taken little notice of, India had become degenerated. She was really the country. On the hundred-petalled lotus she sat in the innermost recesses of India's heart. The poor condition of the country meant her insult and the manhood of the country ought to feel ashamed as it was indifferent to that insult. India's manhood was weak because woman was kept in the distance. Woman's help would be required in welcoming the advent of a new India and her service would not be complete if woman remained away. Bankim's idea of the motherland was to some extent different. The Mother was armed with weapons. Gora's Mother was full of love, devotion, and knowledge.

---

[1] *Cf.* " Cloud and Sunshine " in *Galpaguccha* for justice meted out to Sashibhusan; police oppression in " Durbuddhi "; judicial farce in " Ulukharer Bipad."

The more he went about in the country, the more was Gora convinced of the wretched condition of the masses He saw among them the bondage of customs. In every item of life custom held its sway. But this rigid observance of custom was giving the people no strength. They are cowardly, helpless and incompetent of judging their own good. He saw that differences and quarrels were responsible for much of the deplorable conditions in the villages. He found many social abuses among the people of the lower classes. Who was to ameliorate their condition ? It would be the Brahmin of India. Gora thought of himself as such. He had to pray to the gods for India. Attachment and love were not for him. He was a sannyasi. The Brahmin could have no attachment because his life was meant for serving others. He had to keep himself aloof from all worldly things. But he had lost his former self and had become as degraded as the Sudra. His unworldliness had been contaminated by avarice and greed. His position was unique. Friendship was not for him, woman was not for him, the company of the lowest class of people was banned to him. For him there was self-control and knowledge.[1]

When his identity was disclosed by Krishnadayal Gora felt that his real life had begun. When he was born in India he was an Indian, he would not segregate himself from the rest of the people. He was happy and he had found the real meaning of his life. Gora is Rabindranath's conception of the Indian of the future who would think not of caste and creed, faith and religion, but of the country with its merits and defects, its happiness and misery. This idea of nationalism is something new, something different from the nationalism of the thinkers of another generation who thought in terms of one nation only. Gora's ideal about India was, " Know thyself." [2] His whole life was an illustration of that ideal. He had tried to know many things and had at last found the real truth. So long he had groped in darkness, but the light of knowledge he found after passing through many experiences.

---

[1] *Cf.* Rabindranath, *Svades*, *Brahmin*; also *Bharatbarsha*, pp. 33, 83.

[2] See *Rājāprajā*, p. 102, "My country, ...do not be excited, do not feel greedy, do not be afraid, it is for you to know yourself."

To Binay man meant more than mere opinion. He had accepted Gora's opinions probably more out of affection for his friend than from his own conviction. He felt a strong urge to go to Paresh Babu's house but the India of Gora forbade him to go there as if India was only a symbol of forbidding. For Binay gradually a new life began. His dormant youth became conscious. A new surge came into his life. Every thing was infused with a new light. Binay had heard the call of love. He went so far as to declare that if drinking a cup of tea at the house of a Brahmo meant shocking the whole country, that would be to her good. By others he was regarded as an echo of Gora. But he too had his own ideas. His ideal Brahmin was one who had no fear, who had a contempt for desire, who had conquered grief, whose mind was devoted to the Supreme Being (pp. 129-30). That Brahmin could make India free. Lalita did not like that Binay should remain a mere shadow of Gora. But Binay's own personality was developing itself. He saw that human life was like the current of a great river and could not be held up in a fixed course.

What Rabindranath intends to convey through Binay's character is that man does not know himself so long as he shuts himself up in a particular groove. The personality of man is dormant and it finds its expression when brought into clash with circumstances. Who would have thought that the modest Binay would do such a thing as to marry Lalita in defiance of society? Even the much-prized friendship of Gora had to be foregone by him. Binay's was a revolt from the customary society of which Gora in his enthusiastic mood was the spokesman. Neither for this society nor for the orthodox Brahmo community of which Panu Babu is the typical representative has Rabindranath any respect. Rabindranath thinks that man is above society which has to enlarge itself for the sake of man. The octopus-like grip of society on man sucks the life-blood out of him. The only thing that can save him is the realisation of truth. Man should never lower before his country or before any other man that which is greater than everything else.

Rabindranath has in this novel introduced educated women from a society to which he belongs and of which he knows a great deal. Yet they belong to a time when even that progressive society did not look with favour upon the mixing of girls with men of other communities. Women's education was limited in those days to recitation of English poetry, excellence in hand-writing, embroidery and musical attainments. Of the girls in this book Sucharitra was thoughtful, Labanya was jolly, Lalita was strong and individual. Baradasundari and Harimohini were equally orthodox. The best portrature is that of Gora's mother. She was far ahead of the times to which she belonged and her greatest pride was to be called "Gora's mother." Panu Babu is an embodiment of dogmatic sectarianism, while Paresh Babu saw the universalism in man.

Gora is not an ordinary novel. Its background is vast and into the plot has been packed many of Rabindranath's ideas about love, religion, caste, country, marriage, social service, politics and nationalism. Few novels of the present century have impressed the Bengali mind so much as this novel. Its profound influence on Saratchandra Chatterjee has been acknowledged by Saratchandra. It would be rather hazardous to claim that it is the best Bengali novel. But that it is one of the greatest there is not the least doubt.

THE EARLY CAREER OF KANHOJI ANGRIA[1]

SURENDRANATH SEN, M.A., PH.D. (CAL.), B.LITT. (OXON.)
Sir Asutosh Professor of History, Calcutta University.

KANHOJI Angria occupies a unique position in the history of his country. For four decades a terror to the maritime powers of the western coast, he led his sailors from victory to victory and raised the naval prestige of Maharashtra to an unprecedented height. Yet we know little or nothing about his early career. In daring and warlike qualities he attained such pre-eminence among his contemporaries that the Maratha chroniclers could not possibly ignore him ; even when his descendants were called upon by the Inam Commission to furnish them with a brief account of the great admiral's maritime exploits, the traditional account of his life and career had not altogether been forgotten. But every student of Maratha history knows how little has been preserved by public memory and the official account devotes only a few sentences to the siege of Suvarnadurga which afforded the future Admiral an opportunity of giving evidence of that uncommon resourcefulness, unflinching resolution and undaunted courage which earned him an everlasting renown. It is said that while leading a forlorn cause he had actually been captured by the Sidis but prison walls were no insuperable barrier to him and before long he swam back to the beleaguered castle to lead his comrades once again to a bold assault. It further adds that he accompanied Rajaram to Jinji and he was not appointed to the chief command of the Maratha fleet until his master's return to Maharashtra. This cannot but be a bare outline and the details are sadly wanting. It is inconceivable that while the custodian of the castle had decided on capitulation the garrison should so readily respond to the call of an inexperienced youngman who had yet to make his name and fame. It is therefore certain, if we accept the official account of his early career, that he must have distinguished himself in minor engagements before he could call upon the dispirited defenders of Suvarnadurga to follow his lead, and the incident took place, if this popular account is accurate, shortly before the demise of Sambhaji. But a surmise, however logical, can hardly be as satisfactory as well-authenticated facts. The English and Portuguese sources have proved more informative about the Angrias than the Marathi records, but neither the contemporary correspondence of the English Presidents, nor the official reports of the Portuguese Viceroys, nor the over credulous gossips from the far west who visited India in those days throw any light on Kanhoji's early career. The first reference to Kanhoji Angria hitherto traced in Portuguese papers is about 1703. By that time he had already attained considerable fame, for in the next letter he is addressed as "Subedar da Armada do Sivaji." Mr. Sardesai is of opinion that Kanhoji became chief admiral of the Maratha fleet after the death of Sidhoji Gujar, which event took place in 1697 (*Marathi Riyasat*, Vol. I, p. 638). According to the family history the appointment took place after Rajaram's return to Maharashtra and Grant Duff opines that the prince arrived at Vishalgarh in December, 1697 (Vol. I, p. 393). It is therefore likely that Kanhoji became Subedar of the Maratha Armad early in 1698 and this surmise is indirectly supported by a reference to Kanhoji in a consultation at Bombay castle on the 6th February 1698-99.

---

[1] Read before the All-India Modern History Congress at Poona.

Here we must retrace our steps and examine the brief references to the activities of the Sivaji pirates as the Maratha captains were called by the British merchants. Apparently Kanhoji's exploits were also included among them, for it seems that he had not yet achieved that eminence which was shortly to be his. In February, 1694-5, a letter from Surat to Bombay reported that "Ram Rajah's gallvets have been plundering at the river mouth, have taken a boat of Mocho goods, computed worth 80,000 rupees; a boat with ballast we sent to the *William and Mary* they seized, but finding nothing but stones they beat the poor Lascars and flung their sailes and rigging over board" (F. R., Bombay, Vol. 21, p. 83). On the 16th February 1695/6 the *Emerald* on her way from Calicut to Bombay met some "Savajee people south-ward of Danda Rajapoor" (F. R., Bombay, Vol. 23, p. 11, 2nd set). If we accept the official story that Kanhoji was with Rajaram at Jinji, he could not have anything to do with the plunder of the small crafts near Surat or the cruising of the Maratha fleet off Danda Rajapuri. A letter from Bombay to the Company, dated the 22nd May, 1698, refers to a Maratha raid to the territories of the Raja of

Karwar. "22 Sevajees boats that came into the river, landed 300 men within half a mile of the factory, which plundered what they could finde from his subjects and offered no manner of affront to any in your Honours jurisdiction" (O. C., Vol. 54, No. 6566). Again a letter from Bombay dated the 10th April, 1699, urges the necessity of "small vessells for convoyes," "to encourage the trade of the island" "for the Sevajees and Singanians are now growne stronge and impudent, so that scarce any boats can pass to and from the Island without convoyes" (O. C., Vol. 55, No. 6642). The insecurity of the Bombay vessels may safely be attributed to Kanhoji's enterprise but it is not quite certain whether he inspired or led the Karwar expedition. For, apparently Kanhoji's jurisdiction did not at this date extend to the southern squadron. From a Portuguese letter dated the 20th April, 1702 (*Studies in Indian History*, p. 47) it appears that one Bhavanji Mohite commanded the Malwan fleet. It is not unlikely that he belonged to the same family as Achloji Mohite whose delinquency offered Kanhoji an opportunity of coming to the front. Two other Portuguese letters written in 1705 go to prove that in that year a squadron of the Maratha fleet was under the command of one Dauda Khan, who is variously styled as "Sarnobata" and "Subedar da Armada do Sivagy." From the text of one of these epistles it appears that the jurisdiction of this officer extended to Ratnagiri and his men-of-war visited the port of Canara where they had occasion to befriend the Portuguese (*Studies in Indian History*, pp. 53-54).

It will not, therefore, be unreasonable to conclude that from 1698 to 1706 Kanhoji was not the only Subedar of the Maratha fleet and his jurisdiction was in all probability confined to Kolaba and the northern regions of the Konkan. In any case he was in a position to assert his authority over the Commandant of Padmadurg.

About December, 1698, we learn from a letter from Bombay to Surat dated the 20th Januray, 1698/9 (Factory Records, Bombay, Vol. 16, pp. 42-43) that "the Sevajees of Podundroog Castle neare Dauda Rapore (*sic*) seized upon two salt vesselles belonging to this Island, tooke the Banyans and others that were on board, imprisoned and most miserably beate them, saying they cared not for the English or any elce." The poor Banias were daily belaboured and a ransom of 20,000 rupees were demanded of them. Unable to bear the daily punishment they executed an agreement to pay the ransom provided they were permitted to repair to Bombay. Six men from Padmadurg accompanied their captives to receive the promised sum, while two of the prisoners were left behind as hostages for the good faith of their friends and companions. The British authorities at Bombay promptly put the Padmadurg emissaries under arrest and demanded the release of the poor Banias. But this had little effect and Chimnaji Avji (Chunnagee Augee), Havaldar of Khanderi, replied that his colleague of Padmadurg "will not obey his orders." Then it was resolved "to stop all the salt boats that were bound for the Sevajee's country till we have received a full assurance from the several subedars that the like abuses should not be done to our people for the future" (Factory Records, Bombay, Vol. 5, pp. 3-4, 2nd set). This embargo on the salt boats had the desired effect and in the consultation at Bombay Castle, 6th February, 1698/9, "The Subedar of Conagy Angra having wrote the Deputy Governor for leave for the salt boats to come to his country, promising that he would get the 2 men that were imprisoned by Padamdrooke releast, and that for the future none of our inhabitants should be abused, we permitted the salt vessell to goe" (Factory Records, Bombay, Vol. 5, p. 8, 2nd set). This is the first reference by name to Kanhoji, so far as I am aware, in the English records or in any other contemporary record.

The amity between Kanhoji and the English did not apparently endure long. In March 1700/1 the Sidi laid siege to Khanderi and Kolaba and Bombay found itself between the Devil and the deep sea. The Sidi falsely complained that Bombay supplied the Sevajees with ammunition "and because they does not supply them the Sevajees take all vessells belonging to the island that they can master, and by a great number of their boats hovering about the island seem to threaten some mischief to it." (O.C., Vol. 56, Part 4, No. 7506.) The Sidi was badly beaten and compelled to raise the siege of Kolaba and the Sevagees were again free to turn their attention elsewhere. Bombay had only two small Manchuas for its defence. In 1703 the Sevajee galvetts, presumably belonging to Kanhoji's squadron, were worrying the fishermen of Worlee (F. R., Bombay, Vol. 5, p. 9, 3rd set). In the same year the Surat merchants wrote to their superiors at home "'Tis reported that the Sevajees who are grown very insolent since the loss of your Honours small craft at Bombay have taken a Dutch ship" (O.C., Vol. 63., No. 8653). In September of that year the English retaliated when a Ghurab belonging to one of Kanhoji's men visited Bombay. In the consultation held at Bombay Castle, 13th September, 1703, we read, "Yesterday in the evening came into this harbour a grab under Sevajee colours, being come from Aden, which (on examination) proving to have no pass but to belong to a place called Girça, near Rajapore, under the Government of Conajee Angria, and the said Conajee Angria and his people having at sundry times committed many injurious and piratical actions on the inhabitants of this Island. In consideration thereof as likewise of the orders lately received from the General and Council at Surat concerning them, 'twas agreed and resolved to embargo and detain here said vessell, cargo and people til we shall receive their orders concerning them" (F. R., Bombay, Vol. 5, pp. 11-12, 3rd set). The English were to rue this action before long. In November, next year, information arrived from a coast-guard that "Conjee Angra, a Savajee pirate, independant on that Raja, came into the Bay the 22nd instant with seaven galvetts and anchored with his groab at Pen Rivers mouth, six of them goeing in out of her sight, but Conjee Angra road there till yesterday morning the 23d." Reference is made to a treaty between Sir John Gayer and Kanhoji Angria by which the latter had undertaken not to molest Bombay ships. The text of this treaty has not been traced as yet but Kanhoji had apparently serious grievances. Bombay was in a sorry plight. The island ran the risk of being starved and Mr. William Reynolds was deputed to wait on Kanhoji "wherever he might be found" "acquainting said chief robber his being sent to him by the English Generall of India, civilly telling him in words neither more or less that he cant be permitted searching, molesting or seizing any boates, groabs or other vessells, from what port, harbour, place of what nation soever they may be, bringing provisions, timber or merchandize to Bombay, Mahim or other places from whence they came, without breach of that friendship the English nation has always had with Raja Savajee and all his Captains in subordination to him." Reynolds was at the same time instructed "not upon any account, by word or otherwise, to threaten or insinuate any designe of hostility against him." (Bombay Public Proceedings, Vol. 2, pp. 15, 17, 21.) It is difficult to understand why the English appealed to the friendship of the Raja and his authority while describing Kanhoji as a rebel and independent of Raja Savajee. Kanhoji's reply was quite frank and unambiguous. His message ran as follows: "The Savajees had done many services for the English that never kept their word with him; they had peace with the Portugueze and every one of their portes free to them ; was known they had held out warr with the Mogull forty years, lived now by their sword and would seize what boates or other vessell belonging either to the Mogulls vessells from any of his forts or Mallabarr, excepting such as had Conjee Angras passports ; the English being at liberty acting as they please." (Bombay Public Proceedings, Vol. 2, p. 30). The Maratha Admiral felt that he was the sovereign of the sea and decided to assert his authority in a manner not likely to be ignored.

The toll of English loss was quite heavy, as we learn from a letter from Surat to the Company, dated 1st March, 1706/7. " Your Honours will I presume, from Bombay have a particular account of the growth of the Sevajee Canajee Angra, there ill and near neighbour. He hath lattely taken a ship belonging to Mr. Mildmay and your Honours broker at Carwarr, a ship of Mr. Bouchers of about 200 tons, per cargo amounting to 70,000 rupees, the *Diamond* of Madras carrying 12 guns and twenty-six Europeans, her cargo worth near two lakh of rupees, one of the Islands manchuas, another ship of about two hundred tons, to whose belonging I don't yet hear, and a Dutch Hoigh man'd with about 26 Dutchmen, besides sundry other small vessels." (O.C., Vol. 62, No. 8514.)

Negotiations had indeed been opened for amicable settlement between Kanhoji and the Bombay authorities, on whose initiative it cannot be ascertained, but letters were exchanged, and it appears that Kanhoji denied his responsibility for some of the captures; and offered to restore a Pattan ship belonging to one Samjee Beanselos of which he had made a prize " provided articles of friendship are agreed upon with the Rana " (Bombay Public Proceedings, Vol. 2). The Rana is evidently Rani Tara Bai, the regent for the minor Maratha Raja, but nothing seems to have come out of these negotiations. In February, 1706-7, Kanhoji captured the company's Manchua cruising off the Mahim river (*Bombay Public Proceedings*, Vol. 2, pp. 115-116). In 1710 he made a prize of a Dutch sloop (*Military System*, p. 194), and two years later he openly attacked the Portuguese fleet convoyed by Luiz da Costa and captured the Governor of Bombay's armed yacht and the *Anne* of Karwar.

Henceforth we are on surer grounds, though there is a brief lacunae here and there, *e.g.* in 1721, the records are copious, the facts are well known and the sequence of events clear and intelligible. We no longer grope in the dark and base our conclusions on stray infor mation. The English and the Portuguese records corroborate each other and offer a surer guide. The foreign sources are more fruitful than the indigenous, but until recently they did not receive the attention they deserve. The Portuguese papers have not yet been thoroughly sifted and studied, the Dutch sources still remain unexplored and the French records have only been superficially examined. When this is done we may expect a most illuminating history of the Maratha navy, and, then and then alone shall we be in a position to estimate properly Kanhoji Angria's services to his King and country.

Calcutta.

THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT OF BENGAL

PRAKASH CHANDRA, M.A., LL.B., PH.D. (LONDON).
Professor of Civics, Victoria College, Gwalior.

HISTORY needs to be continually rewritten. Sometimes the facts are mis-stated ; sometimes they are wilfully perverted to serve partizan ends ; sometimes again they need to be viewed from a new perspective to catch their fuller significance or to show in a fresh novel way. The Permanent Settlement of Bengal has been endlessly discussed. Some early historians have been lavish in their praise; others have ruthlessly condemned it. According to Marshman it was a bold, brave and wise measure ; according to Holmes it was a sad blunder, yet the topic is not yet exhausted. Who, for instance, was actually responsible for the measure which, whatever their judgment upon it, all agree in regarding as a most momentuous enactment?

Ostensibly of course the responsibility lies with the Court of Directors who under the Act of 1784 generally retained the last voice in Indian affairs.[1] But in this particular case their hands were forced. This is indeed an early and impressive example of the way in which the British Government have from time to time interposed their authority in matters Indian. But now a full story must be told to make this point clear.

On 13th April, 1772, Warren Hastings assumed the Governorship of Bengal and on the following day he received the memorable letter of the Directors directing the President and Council of Fort William to stand forth as Diwan and to take over the entire care and management of the revenues. Accordingly a plan was drawn up by which a five years' settlement was made with the farmers of revenue and the zemindars. In 1775 when the arrangement had been in operation for three years its results were reviewed. Warren Hastings was of opinion that the plan of letting the land to farmers had proved satisfactory, but Philip Francis sharply dissented from this view.[2] The controversy which arose between the two led to the famous plan of Francis in which he favoured a permanent arrangement with the zemindars. He condensed his principles into one short paragraph which deserves to be remembered as the germ of the future Permanent Settlement:—

---

[1] For a brief account of the Constitution see my article in the *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, London, Nov. 1933.

[2] W. K. Firminger's Introduction, *The Fifth Report* (1917).

> " The *jumma* once fixed must be matter of public record. It must be permanent and unalterable, and the people must, if possible, be convinced that it is so......If there be any hidden wealth still existing, it will then be brought forth and employed in improving the land because the proprietor will be satisfied he is labouring for himself." [1]

No immediate action was taken on Francis's minute. Indeed even the quinquenniel settlements were abandoned in 1777 and annual settlements were substituted in their place.

But it is significant that the India Act of 1784 embodied the general idea of Francis. It seems probable enough that Pitt who had shared in the prevailing Parliamentary distrust of the policy and methods of Warren Hastings had accepted the scheme for no better reason than because it emanated from his rival and principal circle.[2] However that may be, we know that the Directors were definitely against committing themselves beforehand on the subject. Their representations, however, were disregarded, and Section XXXIX of the Act directed them to settle ' the permanent rules ' according to which the landholders were to pay their revenue to the Government.[3]

Nor were the Ministers content to leave the fulfilment of this provision to the Directors. In 1786 the Board of Control (the predecessor of the present Secretary of State for India in Council) drew up a despatch in which occurred the fateful words: " The *Jumma* now to be formed shall as soon as it can have received our approval and ratification be considered as the permanent and unalterable revenue of our territorial possessions in Bengal." [4]

The Bengal Government on receipt of these orders adopted certain tentative proposals, and the Court of Directors while reviewing the proposed arrangement observed that they trusted that it would undergo from time to time such alterations as experience and a constant attention to the subject should point out to be necessary.[1] This was apparently not the view of the Board of Control who not only deleted the Court's paragraph when the despatch came for their approval but substituted another deprecating a suggestion of Shore contained in his minute of 29th May, 1787, that the proposed regulations were to be considered merely as a groundwork for future measures and liable to alteration.

---

[1] Sir R. C. Dutt, *Sir Philip Francis' Minutes on the Permanent Settlement of Bengal*, p. vi.

[2] *Cf.* the view of S. Weitzmann in her *Warren Hastings and Philip Francis* (1929).

[3] Peter Auber, *Rise and Progress of the British Power in India* (1837), II, p. 89.

[4] India Office MSS., Bengal Draft-despatch, dated April 12, 1786.

This opposition of Sir John Shore to the propossed settlement of which we get an inkling here was maintained to the end. Both Cornwallis and he were agreed on the desirability of making the settlement with the landholders, but while the former insisted on making it perpetual, the latter preferred the permanency of the principles on which it was to be based to its own permanence. " Measures in detail must always be subject to variations from local circumstances and contingencies," Shore ably argued, "which no foresight can provide against, but principles must be fixed if possible." [2] He urged the commonsense view that no irrevocable step should be taken before some survey of the land had been carried out and other satisfactory data obtained. Cornwallis's reply which was utterly jejune was that there had been plenty of enquiries, that the infomation was sufficient, and that nothing short of absolute permanence would lead to the prosperity of the country.

But whatever the ultimate view, both were agreed that the settlement should be declared in the first instance to be for ten years only. Cornwallis, however, wanted to couple it with an important notification, *viz.*, that if approved by the Court of Directors, the existing settlement would become permanent. Shore very rightly considered such a notification to be inexpedient on the ground that in case the Directors decided otherwise the landholders might regard it as a breach of faith on the part of the Government. The Governor-General, however, stuck to his proposal, and in February, 1790, the abovementioned notification was issued. When, therefore, he called upon the Directors to ratify his measure he made a refusal virtually impossible.[1]

---

[1] Bengal Draft-despatch, dated September 11, 1788.

[2] India Office MSS., The Home Miscellaneous Series, Vol. 383, p. 203.

[3] But as Baden-Powell asks : " Will any one seriously contend that, looking at all the ups and downs of history, a zemindar in 1793 realised that the Government would last for ever, or even for a long period of years ? " *Land Systems of British India* (1922), I, pp. 347-48. The controversy between Cornwallis and Shore is well described in Seton-Kerr's *Cornwallis.*

Nor was this all. Dundas, the President of the Board of Control, who had been throughout a supporter of the measure, and whose aid Cornwallis had likewise invoked, seeing that some of the more influential Directors were opposed to it, decided to draw up a despatch on the subject himself, thus ensuring its acceptance. He also induced the Prime Minister to stay with him at his country house at Wimbledon for ten days when the subject was thoroughly explored. Charles Grant who had an intimate knowledge of the revenue administration of India and who had been commissioned by Cornwallis on leaving India to explain and recommend the measure to the Ministers, was present at these discussions. The sequel may be narrated in Dundas's own triumphant words to the Governor-General: "What I expected happened ; the subject was too large for the consideration of the Directors in general, and the few, who knew anything concerning it, understanding from me that Mr. Pitt and I were decided in our opinions, thought it best to acquiesce, so that they came to a resolution to adopt entirely the despatch as transmitted by me."

This account of Dundas's is corroborated by Grant who mentions that there was considerable opposition to the measure so that at last the Board of Control dictated the orders.[3] According to the then Secretary to the Board particular parts of the despatch were written by Pitt, Dundas, and Grant.[4]

Commenting on the Permanent Settlement shortly after it had come into operation, the historian Wilks innocently remarked that an English Chancellor of the Exchequer who should propose to pledge the national faith to an unalterable tax might captivate the imagination of the multitude, but would be laughed at by the financiers of Europe.[5] He should have been greatly surprised and amused if he had really known the part which the English Chancellor did play in that important measure.[6]

Gwalior.

---

[1] India Office MSS., Bengal Letters Received, Vol. 28, p. 763.

[2] Charles Ross, *Correspondence of Marquis Cornwallis* (1859), II, pp. 214-15

[3] H. Morris, *Life of Charles Grant* (1904), p. 171.

[4] Sir J. W. Kaye *Administration of the East India Company* (1853), p. 183.

[5] Lieut-Col. Mark Wilks, *History of Mysore*, I, p. 198.

[6] Pitt was both the Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

VICTOR JACQUEMONT IN INDIA

PRABODHCHANDRA BAGCHI, M.A., DOCTEUR ÈS LETTRES (PARIS).
Lecturer, Calcutta University.

ON a marble tablet near the northern staircase of the Zoological galleries in the *Jardin des Plantes* (Paris) we still read the name of Victor Jacquemont, scholar of the Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle, " born in Paris on the 8th August 1801, died in Bombay on the 7th December, 1832." Thus has been preserved the memory of a very shortlived naturalist who contributed only a few articles in the scientific journals of France and died in India a premature death after leaving a rich collection of botanical and geological specimens which he collected in various parts of India particularly in the sub-Himalayan forests in course of a difficult tour during three years and a half.

He is still remembered in the history of the French literature as a great friend of Stendhal who though older in age was somewhat indebted to him. The diary and the large number of letters which he has left behind disclose it. In a recent book [1] M. Pierre Maes has traced the almost romantic history of this young naturalist from both published and unpublished documents, given him his proper place in the history of the literary circles of the restoration period after the fall of Napoleon, and presented in detail for the first time an account of his travels in America and India.

The father of Victor was Venceslas Jacquemont who belonged to the Girondist party, was for some time a member of the Tribunate and when the *Institut* was founded in 1796 was elected its member. He also served under Napoleon in various capacities, was falsely implicated in the Malet conspiracy, kept in prison for some time but at last acquitted for want of proof though sent away from Paris for some years. Victor was young at this time but the persecution of his father still left a bitter impression on his mind.

As a student Victor was very brilliant, had a special taste for the Natural sciences and was one of the founders of the Société d'Histoire Naturelle de Paris in 1821. In 1822 he received his degree from a jury presided over by no less a scientist than Georges Cuvier, the founder of the Science of Comparative Anatomy.

---

[1] Pierre Maes, *Un ami de Stendhal—Victor Jacquemont.* (Temps et Visages), Paris, 1934. M. P. Maes previously edited the letters which Jacquemont had written to Stendhal and other friends.

Victor Jacquemont met Stendhal in 1821 in one of the best literary *salons* of Paris in those days, namely that of M. Victor de Tracy who was a great friend of his father. Since then Stendhal proved to be a devoted friend of Victor's inspite of a very radical difference in their outlook. Stendhal was a great admirer of Napoleon whereas the latter hated him. Napoleon was very much discussed in this period and Victor was accused of being jealous of Napoleon by Stendhal and other admirers of the ex-Emperor. But Jacquemont replied to this accusation in a long letter written in 1824: " It is not for aristocracy but for republicanism that I hate Buonaparte ...I admire his greatness, but for that I have to keep myself cool, because the stupidly exaggerated praise for him keeps me in a state of habitual irritation and makes me unjust in regard to him...In your admiration for the hero I find in you something of the common man...you have become a dupe of the figurative language...' Buonaparte has won a victory ' is true only in a figurative style...It is to be always understood that 80,000 Frenchmen had been with him...It will be once recognised that a large part of the military successes of Buonaparte was due to his *excellent army,* he did not make this excellent army but it was the Revolution that made it when the soldiers became the officers...Many military men have often heard the Germans with whom they fought say: ' We wish we had officers like the French: brave men who go to the fire as they only can do. But we have young nobles who decamp at the first firing of the cannon.' Buonaparte analysed loses 75%. He is reduced to only a man of extreme intelligence. Cuvier and Laplace when analysed do not lose anything. If you judge by the greatness of achievement Franklin and Washington are greater than Napoleon...they have created the Republic of the United States while Napoleon has only prepared the bed for Louis XVIII..." This opinion of Jacquemont's might appear excessive but he was honest about it and inspite of his hatred recognised him as a man of genius—" the greatest man who had appeared after Caesar."

Inspite of this difference in opinion Jacquemont and Stendhal were great friends. Stendhal had a high regard for the literary ability of his friend. The correspondence which passed between the two discloses that in 1824 Stendhal sent the manuscript of his

Racine et Shakspeare for the latter's opinion and asked him to make any correction that he liked. At about the same time Victor Jacquemont met Prosper Merimée and became a devoted friend of the latter. It is through Stendhal that Jacquemont was introduced to Madame Judith Pasta, the greatest actress of the time in Paris, who had made almost all Paris shed tears in her rôle of Desdemona, and was the centre of attraction of many young literary men.

After an unfortunate love affair Victor Jacquemont left for America in 1826 not only for distraction but also for the purpose of making a collection of botanical and geological specimens in which he was still interested for his scientific studies. In January, 1827, Jacquemont received an invitation from the authorities of the Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle through its administrator M. Louis Cordier to go to India on a scientific mission as a representative of the Muséum. He therefore returned to France towards the end of the year to prepare himself for a voyage to India.

He started for India on the 13th August, 1828, with letters of recommendation which he had in the meantime secured from London for the Governor-General Lord William Bentinck and other high officials in British India. He reached Calcutta on the 5th May, 1829, and was very well received by Mr. Pearson, the Advocate-General of Bengal, who soon put him in touch with some of the most eminent men in Calcutta like Sir Charles Grey, the then Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Sir Edward Ryan, one of the Justices, Sir Charles Metcalfe, etc. He was also very cordially received by Lord William Bentinck and Lady Bentinck and it was soon found out that Lady Bentinck and Jacquemont had common friends in Paris.

After a stay of about six months in Calcutta during which he worked in the Botanical Gardens, Jacquemont started for Northern India with the object of carrying on his researches in the Himalayan forests on the frontier of Tibet. He received all the official help through the kindness of Lord William Bentinck and had practically no trouble during his long travel through Northern India. The route which he followed can be guessed from the names of places which he visited on the way after leaving Calcutta: Hugli, Burdwan, Dignagaur on the Damoodah (Damodar), Ragonantpoor, Hazaroubag (Hazaribag), Hinguelisse near Sasseram, Benares, Rewah, Lohargong, Pannah, Adjighur, Kalinger (Kalinjar), Hammerpoor at the confluence of the Betwah and the Jumna, Agrah, Muttrah, Delhi, Simla, Kannawer and from Kannawer to "the frontier of China." The researches of Jacquemont in the hills were quite long. From Kannawer he proceeded to Warthou, thence to Kotgerk on the left bank of the Sutlej, Rampoor, and Sourann where he was well received by the Raja of Bissahir; he then followed up the right bank of the Sutlej to Wougton and then through the valley of Tchini to Khoti where he was detained for some time by the rains. He then went to Kanum where he met the famous Hungarian scholar, Csoma de Körös, who had settled down in the lamaseri of the village. He had a long conversation with Csoma on the language and literature of the Tibetans. From Kanum Jacquemont proceeded still farther to the valleys higher up, *viz.*, Ronnang, Hangarong, and Goutong. This brought him to an altitude of about 5,500 metres. Here the bare sides of the hills were very favourable for geological observations and he was able to study easily the phenomena of superposition and alternance of the rocks. In upper Kannawer he discovered fossils which were incrusted in secondary layers of the soil in an extensive scale. Proceeding still farther he came to Bekoeur and Lari near Ladak. Here he had reached the Chinese frontier but he was allowed to proceed without any opposition. Here he received a letter from General Allard, a French general in the service of Maharaja Runjit Singh, inviting him to go to Lahore. He therefore retraced his steps and reached Simla after travelling amongst the hills for about three months.

From Simla he followed a different route, this time in order to return to Delhi. He first went to Sabathoo and thence through the valley of Pindjor directed his steps to Nahan. On the way he stopped at Sirmoor for two days as a guest of the local Raja—"a beautiful young man of twenty-two years, very elegant in his oriental costume, and sincere and communicative" who was very much liked by our naturalist. From Sirmoor Jacquemont got back to Delhi *viâ* Saharunpoor and Mirout. He was pompously received by the European community at Delhi and a grand banquet was organised on the occasion.

On his way to Lahore Jacquemont passed by Kurnaul, Azimabad, which was the last station of the British territory and entered the territory of the Sikhs. He passed by Amballah and reached Loodianah which was even then an important commercial centre. Here he was the guest of Captaine Wade, the resident, who took him to different *shawl* factories and introduced him to the two ex-kings of Afganistan, Shah Zeman and Shah Shuja, who had been deposed by Runjit Singh, and kept at Loodhiana as pensionaries of the East India Company. Shah Shuja made a very profound impression on Jacquemont " though younger and less august than the great Mogol Emperor." The description which Jacquemont has left of this prince in his *Journal* is worth quoting on account of its literary beauty : " It is impossible," says he, " to appear more royal than this dethroned prince, it is impossible to possess greater dignity without conceit and stiffness, greater nobility and elegance without affectation. His costume was carefully arranged. though not magnificent. Around his head was rolled as turban a real Cachemir with the most delicate design of a light green colour. His body was covered with a dressing gown with long cuffs, made of the same stuff as the turban but of a white colour decorated with elegant palmettes as big as half a cubit. The robe contained near the chest an agrafe of precious stones in the shape of a palm leaf. He carried a very simple sword in the belt and a long cane in a hand which was white as crystal. The pantaloons were of red silk, the stocking of variegated Cachemir and his green slippers were like those of the other people of the house." He wrote to Madame Fanny de Peray in February 1831, about Shah Shuja. " You remember that the women forced open the doors of the Hotel Siret to have a look at the beautiful secretary of the Ambassador of Tunis. I do not know what they would do if Schah Schoudja went to Paris. So beautiful is he that the National Guard would not suffice to maintain the public order." The next stoppage of Jacquemont was Lahore where he had a long audience with Maharaja Runjit Singh and received permission to travel in his kingdom for the purpose of his researches.

He was received by the two French generals of the Maharaja, Allard and Ventura, on the outskirts of Lahore. Of these Allard had already a very distinguished career in the army of Napoleon. He had served as a cavalry officer both at Naples and in Spain under Joseph Buonaparte and after the Hundred Days he was made Captain of the Imperial Guard, Knight of Legion d'honneur, and aide-de-camp of Marshal Brune. After the restoration, in order to avoid persecution to which the ancient officers were subjected, Allard left the country in 1818 for Egypt. He subsequently went to Syria, Turkey and Persia and served as a military officer in Persia for about a year and met Ventura there. Both of them left Persia, stayed in Afghanistan for some time and at last reached the Panjab in 1822. When Runjit Singh became satisfied that they were not Russian spies he took them in his service and the Sikh army were soon trained by them in French method. They learnt to receive orders in French. (Pierre Maes, *ibid*, p. 596.)

Jacquemont reached Lahore on the 11th March, 1831. The interview with Runjit Singh was arranged on the next day by Allard and Ventura. At the first meeting the Maharaja asked him questions about his travels, the countries he had visited, their climate, wealth, products, etc.

The description of Runjit Singh which Jacquemont has left us, smacks of the Stendhalian style. "The king," he says, "has no other mark of dignity except that he sits on a square cushion at the top of the semi-circle that we have formed around him. He is a small thin man of a fine shape although one-eyed through the effect of small-pox; there are however very few marks of it left on his face. The right eye which has been spared to him is very large, the nose is fine and slightly raised, the mouth is well-shaped, with the superb teeth and the little moustaches which are constantly passed through his fingers; a long white beard falls on his breast. His appearance gives vent to a constant mobility of thought, a great finess and a profound penetration, and the indications are quite sure. He has a small turban of white muslin rolled inelegantly, a kind of long tunic with a small collar falling on his shoulders like the mantles of the French cavalry-men, and tight pantaloons with bare feet. His dress is of white Cachemire, with small embroideries in gold on the collar. As ornament he has large earrings in gold with big pearls, a necklace of pearls and bracelet of rubies almost hidden under the cuffs of his apparel; on the side hangs a sword of which the hilt is decorated with diamonds and emeralds."

"Have you been to England ?"—the king asked Jacquemont.

"Certainly."

"Have you seen the king ?"

"Surely. The Raja knows that the king of England has permitted me to travel in India. I had to see him to obtain this permission.........."

"Do they (the soldiers of the king of England) fight well ?"

" Very well."

" As cleverly as the French ?"

" Almost as cleverly, since Buonaparte taught them how to fight."

" And are the Indian Sipahis of the Company good ? '

" They say so."

" As good as the Europeans ?"

" No, but they fight well as long as they have Europeon officers to lead them. But after all there has been very little war in India since I came and I have learnt all these from hearsay."

" But Bhurtpoor ?"

" I had not yet been to India but then Bhurtpoor was only a poorly fortified place which could not defend itself against European science."

" What ! Bhurtpoor a poorly fortified place !"

" Certainly, there is not a single fort in India which can pass under that name in Europe. The fight in India is a child's play ! In the battles of Buonaparte 40,000 men used to be killed in one day."

" So have I been often told by Allard. Did you see Buonaparte ?

" Often."

" From close quarters ?"

" Just as I see Your Majesty, and he was a small and thin man in his youth like Your Majesty......."

" The English however defeated and took him."

" Through treachery."

" What sciences do you know ?"

" All [Jacquemont had been instructed by Allard not to admit his ignorance in any subject before the King.]"

" But which of them do you know best ?"

" Astronomy, Mathematics, Chemistry, Botany, Geology and Medicine."

The conversation then centred round the English policy in India, in Sind, the possible Russian invasion of India and in all these Runjit Singh appears as a great diplomat trying to elicit whatever information Jacquemont might have gathered from the English in India.

Jacquemont was then given all facilities to travel in Kashmir, and after completing his researches in various parts of the kingdom returned to Simla on the 12th November, 1931, reached Delhi on the 16th December, after a short stay at Simla and took the route to Bombay.

He reached Bombay in November, 1932, to die of an abscess on the liver on the 7th December after a long suffering. The climate had been already telling on his health and an infection in the island of Salsette gave it the final blow. He was buried with all military honours by the English authorities in Bombay with this simple epitaph on his tomb according to his own instructions:

> Victor Jacquemont, né à Paris
> le 8 août 1801, est mort à
> Bombay le 7 dècembre 1832, après
> avoir voyagé trois an et demi dans l'Inde.

The bits of information on India which we get from the *Journal* of Jacquemont are interesting. He was greatly esteemed by Lord and Lady Bentinck, often went out with them for promenade and was occasionally entertained by them as a guest both at Calcutta and Barrackpore where Lord Bentinck used to pass some of the hottest days of summer in order to avoid the heat of Calcutta.

Sometimes Jacquemont used to have the honour of attending the divine service in the Cathedral with Lord Bentinck. His description of the service can hardly fail to attract our attention. "A formidable system of punkas hangs from the ceiling to air the choir and the two galleries. About forty porters of palanquins, dressed in white without any livery and with robes and turbans on, pull them (the punkas) without making the least noise; the effect is singular and very beautiful, but not at all solemn. The big white wings which move in the air and of which the movements cover and uncover at intervals the priest at the pulpit and the predicator in his chair must tire out the piety which wants expression through the prayer."

In one place Jacquemont criticises the European mode of living in Calcutta. "All around me take three meals a day and religiously abstain from mixing water with the most spirituous wines coming from Spain and Portugal. Then when it becomes cool with the nightfall they get on horseback and both young and old gallop for several hours like automatons without any purpose. They come back home all in sweat and for having an easy and light night sit at the table where they remain for 2 hours and retire only for going to bed. There is much of stupidity in this exhibition of *manliness* which the English think themselves obliged to make." In another place he writes: "The intemperance, the love of luxury which is so worrying during a travel, the lack of any thought of society and an ingenious pride, all these, according to Jacquemont, are ' 'the vices of the Anglo-Indians and specially of the young officers of the company.''

On the contrary Jacquemont had completely changed the mode of living in India and used to take as food simply cooked rice and water. This, he says in a letter to his family, was good for health and it was for this simple diet that he could get quiet sleep at night. During travel his food was equally simple and though he had his horse with him he preferred walking on foot for long distances. This shocked his English friends who could not bear the idea of walking on foot.

He had not much love for the antiquities of India though he met at Benares no less an antiquarian than James Prinsep, and though he speaks in glowing terms of the beauty of the Taj Mahal, he had greater interest in the living and did not lack in the real French genius of detecting the beautiful even in things which were entirely foreign to his culture. At Hugli he sees and admires the young Hindu girls who had come to bathe in the Ganges—girls who had "noble and graceful forms which remind one of the antique statues." " Almost all these young girls had brought flowers on banana leaves. They placed them on the edge of the water and saw them fleeing with the current ; these girls probably attached superstitious hope or fear to the fate of these flowers. But is there a more graceful form of devotion ?"

He was not quite disinterested in Indian politics, and had a long conversation with Lord William Bentinck on various problems of the day and found him quite frank in his opinion. ' ' What immense good you can do to the inhabitants of this country ! " said Jacquemont to Lord Bentinck.

Lord Bentinck replied in all frankness and candour : " We are almost helpless in doing good to them. We cannot change their mind ; the prejudice with which the intellect is prepossessed here creates the most insurmountable obstacle for the most liberal and philanthropic efforts. The advantages which the Indians have derived from the new domination are certainly great but they are still negative. We have brought them security for their person and property. The force for ensuring a peaceful enjoyment of this good is enough for us but to improve them is of no use to us."

Jaquemont concludes that " a man like Lord Bentinck who in spite of his national and born prejudices finds in the American

Federation the model of Government must welcome and help a great revolution in India. *It would come through European education given to the natives from early age.*"

Better informed about India, the young naturalist wrote to his father after two years and a half : " The English power in India will not perish through foreign aggression. The English would always have greater physical force than what one can bring against them either on the Sutledge or the Indus. But their material force has nothing but a moral basis which is at present very strong but can be shaken through a caprice. Then everything crumbles down ! But what is it that can give such a blow ? ...It is certainly the awakening of the religious consciousness. It may come even to-morrow but surely, as it is, it will not come about before a *century.*"

Calcutta.

'ILMU'T HADITH OR THE SCIENCE OF TRADITION.*

DR. MUHAMMAD ZUBAIR SIDDIQI, M.A., PH.D. (CANTAB.)
Sir Asutosh Professor of Islamic Studies, Calcutta University.

THE traditionists since the earliest period in the history of Islam, attached more importance to the traditions relating to the religious rituals and legal matters, than to those of purely historical character having no practical importance. The former served as an important foundation of Islamic theology and law and the latter are of no practical utility for a Muslim except as facts of history. Whether the Prophet left for Badr on the 8th of January, 623 A.D., or on any other date is of no practical utility to a Muslim. But the method followed by him in his ablution, prayers and pilgrimage, in buying and selling things, and his commands about marriage or making a slave free is expected to form the very basis of every Muslim's daily life.

The traditionists, therefore, by and by confined their activities to the latter class of traditions and left the former for the historians within whose scope they properly fell. Since the 2nd half of the 3rd century therefore, they collected together in their works only the former class of traditions. These collections are known as Sunans, and in them are included some of the most important works in Hadith.

THE SUNAN OF ABU DA'UD.

The most important of these works is the Sunan of Abu Dá'úd who examined five hundred thousand traditions and picked up four thousand and eight hundred of them which he included in his book on which he laboured for twenty years.

Abu Dá'úd descended from the Banu Azd of Arabia and was born in 203 A.D. Having received his education in Hadith in Khurasán, he visited all the important centres of Hadith learning and in course of time acquired great reputation as a traditionist. This is clearly shown by the fact that he was requested by al-Muwaffaq, the powerful general of alMu'taḍid, to settle down in Basra, after it was sacked and depopulated on account of the insurrection of the Zanjies, in order that the people and students might be attracted to that unfortunate town, by his presence and the population might improve.

---

* Continued from our previous issue.

He had also requested Abu Dá'úd to hold special classes in traditions for the sake of his sons which no other student might be allowed to attend. Abu Dá'úd readily granted the first request, as an act of public good. But he expressed his inability to accede to the second request. He held, with Malik,Bukhari, and many other Muslim divines, that to his knowledge there was no difference between the prince and the poor. He said to the great Abbaside general and victor of the Zanji as well as of the powerful founder of the Saffaride dynasty, that he could not degrade knowledge by creating differences between the princes and the poor. This great respect for knowledge may serve as a source of inspiration to many of the modern teachers.

Abu Dá'úd, however, wrote many books on tradition and Islamic law. The Sunan is the most important of them. Containing all the legal traditions which may serve as basis for Islamic law and rituals, together with the statement of their value and reliability, it has been accepted by the masters of traditions as a unique Sunan work. 'The Kitabul-Sunan of Abu Dá'úd,' says al-Khattábi, 'is a noble work. No book like it has ever been written in theology. He has collected together in this book such traditions as no one else before or after him ever compiled together. It has been, therefore, accepted as a standard book by the (Muslim) theologians of the various schools in Mesopotamia, Egypt, Spain and other parts of the Islamic world, in spite of their differences in various principles.'

The general principles of criticism of traditions adopted by Abu Dá'úd, was further improved and followed by his student Muhammad b. Isa al-Turmudhi in his Jami in which he collected together all such traditions as had been accepted by the Muslim jurists of one school or another, as the basis of Islamic law with regard to legal or religious problems.

Al-Turmudhi, for the first time took into consideration only such traditions as had been used as basis for the various rituals and laws of Islam. He took pains to determine the identity, the names, the titles and the *kunya* of the narrators of these traditions, tried to fix the degree of their reliability without repeating them. He made extensive use of certain techniques of criticism rarely used by his predecessors, and also introduced some new technical terms. He added a note almost to every Hadith with the words Abu Isa says, and discusses various important and interesting points connected with it.

THE SUNAN OF AL-NASA'I'.

Another important Sunan work is that compiled by Abu 'Abdul-Rahaman Aḥmad. Shuayb al.Nasa'í, who was born in the year 214 or 15 and died in the year 303-915.

He had been recognised as the best traditionist of his time. 'Abd-ul-lah, the son of Aḥmad b. Ḥambal and Muḥammad the son of Ibráhím and some other important traditionists selected him unanimously as the best of teachers of Ḥadíth at the time and 'Alí b. 'Umar declared him, many a time, as the foremost traditionist of his age. His care about traditions is evident from the fact that in connection with those related by al-Ḥárith, he (al-Nasai) never says 'he has related to us,' as is the case with those related to him by other teachers, but he always points out that it was read to him (al-Ḥárith) within his (al-Nasai's) hearing, because he was not allowed to attend the lectures of al-Ḥárith, and therefore had to hear them by hiding himself at the gate of the lecture-room.

He compiled the legal traditions which he considered to be either fairly reliable or of possible reliability in his large work on Sunan which he confessed to have contained good many weak and doubtful traditions. Being requested by some of his friends, he compiled out of it, a smaller work which is called al-Mujtana, or al-Sunan al-Ṣughra which according to him contained only reliable traditions, and is accepted as one of the six canonical collections.

In this book, al-Nasai entirely ignored the point of view of his senior contemporary al-Turmidhi, of the application of the traditions to the various problems, made by the different legal schools of the Muslim divines. His main object was only to establish the text of traditions and the differences between their various versions, almost all of which he quotes *in extenso*, instead of only referring to them like Abu Dá'úd and al-Turmidhí. At many places he gives headings on the differences between the various narrators and mentions the least variations among their narrations which Goldziher calls pettifoggings (Kleinigkeiten). But these pettifoggings are of great importance to the exactitude of a traditionist and are not limited to the chapters on rituals only as the famous Austrian Orientalist says, but abound in other chapters also. At places, after giving the various versions of a Ḥadíth he points to some of them as incorrect and some as correct. In the choice of his authorities he had been strict. As a matter of fact it is said that his canons of criticism of the narrators were more strict than those of Muslim. The book, however, contains many weak and doubtful traditions related by unknown narrators of doubtful veracity.

THE SUNAN OF AL-DARIMI (181-255).

Another important Sunan work is that of al-Dárimí (797-868). It is the earliest Sunan work received by us. An old manuscript copy of the book was brought from Mecca and lithographed and published in India at the instance of the greatest patron of Hadith learning during the last century, Nawwáb Ṣiddíq Ḥasan Khán of Bhopal, one of the most active independent Indian Native States which is now governed by one of the most enlightened princes of the country.

The author of the Sunan, Abu Muḥammad 'Abdullah b. 'Abdil Raḥman is said to have come from the Arabian tribe of Banu Tamim to which he belonged probably by Muwalat. He was born in the year 181/797. He travelled a good deal in the pursuit of traditions and studied it with the important traditionist of his time like Yazíd b. Hárún, Sa'íd b. 'Ámir and others, and was marked for his interest in traditions and for his veracity and piety. The keenness of his intellect and his wide knowledge was generally recognised. His contentment and religiousness was proverbial. He was offered the post of a Judge at Samarqand but he did not accept it so long as he was not pressed hard for it and having accepted the post he resigned it just after deciding one case only. He died in the year 255/868.

His Sunan has been described by some of the important traditionists as a Musnad work, which is obviously a mistake unless the term is used in its general sense. Some traditionists call it a Ṣaḥíḥ or genuine (a collection of only genuine traditions). But this also is a mistake. It contains many traditions which do not satisfy the conditions necessary for a genuine case. It contains three thousand five hundred and fifty traditions which are arranged in fourteen hundred and eight chapters, according to their contents.

A special feature of the book is its general introductory chapter in which the compiler has collected together in various chapters, traditions connected with certain practices of the Arabs before the appearance of Islam, with certain matters connected with the life and character of Muhammad, with the writing down of traditions and the high place of knowledge, etc. In the general plan of the body of the book he has followed the same system as has been followed by later compilers of Sunan works. In the body of the book, after some traditions the compiler adds notes in some of which he gives his own opinion on certain problems, or identifies the narrators or criticises their character or points out the difference between their versions of a tradition. But such notes in this book are very few and too short in comparison with those in the works which have been already discussed.

The work has been generally accepted as reliable and had been pronounced by some traditionists as the sixth of the canonical collections. But it never attained the position of any of the first three works, because it contained more weak and defective traditions than any of them.

SPECIAL FEATURES OF HADITH LITERATURE.

Hadith-literature possesses certain special features. (1) Isnad. " Each Hadith in every compilation of tradition till the end of the fourth century is prefixed by an Isnad, *i.e.*, the chain of narrators from the prophet or his companion down to the compiler, through whom it had been received by him. This is the most important characteristic of the early Hadith-literature and it gives the reader the necessary material to test the truth of the various reports by an examination of the character and veracity of the various reporters at different stages, with the help of the vast literature on their life and character.

The origin of the system of Isnad is a difficult and interesting problem. It is entirely absent from the literature of the Greeks and of the Romans. The Hindus and the Chinese also do not show any appreciable trace of it. Did it then originate among the Arabs ? Cactani and Horowitz have proved it to be otherwise and E. Harley of Islamia College has partly summarised their conclusions in the introduction to his excellent edition of the Musnad of Umar b. ʻAbdil ʻAziz.

Cactani has tried to show that the Isnad could not have originated among the Arabs. The wild desolation of the Arabian deserts and the nature and character of the primitive, ignorant, uncivilised and intolerant Arabs did not suit its origin and early growth. But his results are merely negative. Horowitz carried his researches further and proved, by giving various instances from the Jewish literature, that it was used by the Jews before the Arabs. Its use in their literature is found as early as the Mosaic period and by the Talmudic times its chain assumed enormous length the subject-matter being of the most varied nature. " He adds," says Mr. Harley, " that it is possible that Islam having once borrowed the system of Isnad from the Jews and developed it on its own lines, may have influenced in its turn, the Jewish prototype, for in the Talmudic literature, there is no idea of chronological method and the oldest extant work attempting such an arrangement was composed after 855 A. D., more than a century later than the earliest Islamic work on Isnad-critique." " From this and from the fact that the important Jewish works had been composed in the Islamic dominion," writes Prof. Horowitz (this sentence have been left out by Mr. Harley), " it may be inferred that this historical interest (of the Jews) was due to the Islamic influence."

The main point of these important results of the minute researches of the Modern European Orientalists, had been already anticipated by some of the medieval Muslim divines, of which Prof. Horowitz and others appear to have been unaware. Ibn Ḫazm (d. 456-1064) a well-known Muslim scholar of Cordova, in a passage in his al-Fiṣal fil-Milal, which has been quoted by al-Suyuṭí in his Tadribul-Ráwi, had already dealt with the main points arrived at by the distinguished European Orientalists.

The Muslims having either borrowed the Isnad from the Jews or originated it like some other primitive peoples who preserved their religious and other teachings only in their memory, developed it a great deal and gave it a scientific basis by creating a vast literature on the life and character of the narrators and establishing the value of reliability of the various types of Isnad. This scientific literature of the Muslims, as Horowitz has pointed out, influenced the literature of the Jews. In it the Muslims take great pride ; and to it Prof. Margoliouth refers when he says that they are justified in taking pride in their science of tradition.

The determination of the period when the system of Isnad was first applied to Hadíth is more important for its student, than its origin. About this again Cactani holds that its first appearance in Hadith had not been earlier than the beginning of the 2nd century of the Hijra, about the middle of which it became an ordinary feature of Hadith. But Horowitz writes that "Isnad in its primitive form was then somewhere about the 75 A.H.-694 A.D. already established and one has no right, merely because it appears incidentally in the letters, to deny it to 'Urwa (who according to Cactani never used Isnad) without further consideration of those Ahadith supplied with statement of authorities for which he stands as sponsor. "Isnad," he adds, "was indeed already customary in his time but it was not yet an absolute necessity." In the absence of any literature of the early periods of Islam it is difficult to assign any definite date to the appearance of Isnad in Hadith. But there is no doubt that the period fixed for it by Horowitz is very near to what is claimed by the early Muslim traditionists.

The system having begun in connection with Hadith was extended by the Arabic authors to many other branches of Arabic literature like geography, history, belles-letters, etc. "There are works," says Prof. Margoliouth, "of which the subject-matter is so frivolous that one marvels at the trouble taken by the authors to record the name of each transmitter and the date and place at which he heard the narrative ; an example is the 'Maṣári-ul-'Ushsháq' of al-Sarráj, a collection of cases wherein men and women are supposed to have died of love, where the author records, with minute accuracy, the date at which he heard the story and gives similar details of the transmitters."

PART TAKEN BY THE MEMBERS OF THE FAIR SEX.

The second important feature of Ḥádíth-literature is the prominent part taken by the members of the fair sex in the preservation and propagation of Ḥadíth.

There are few sciences in the development of which the members of the fair sex took more or less equal part with their brethren. The science of Ḥadíth is the most important and outstanding exception in this respect. Since the earliest history of Islam the women traditionists took prominent part in the evolution of Ḥadíth, and at every stage of the development of Ḥádíth-literature they took keen and lively interest in it. There lived at every period in its history numerous eminent lady traditionists and narrators of traditions before whom many of their eminent brethren bowed. Their names are found in abundance in various works on the Asmá'-al-Rijál. The word Rijál (men) in this connection should be noted to include the Nisa (women) just as it is used in the I. P. C. to include them.

Just after the death of the prophet of Islam 'A'isha his bride, had been the most prominent among the traditionists of her time. She had been one of the six largest reporters of traditions and instructed a large number of the students of tradition of her time, including the most eminent men-traditionists. After her death Ḥafṣa, Amra, Umm-al-Dardá' were considered as some of the most important custodians of knowledge. After their death every compiler of traditions, including Ahmad b. Ḥanbal and al-Bukhárí reported traditions on the authority of some of the women traditionists. In the 5th century Karíma was taken as the best authority on the book of al-Bukhárí. With her died the great historian-traditionists of Baghád al-Khatíb-al-Baghdádí read the book. Fétima, a contemporary of Karíma, was also accepted as a great authority on traditions. In the 6th century of the Hijra, Shuhda of Spain was acknowledged as one of the greatest traditionists. Her lectures were attended by a large number of students ; many of them, because of her great reputation, falsely claimed to have read traditions with her. The 7th and 8th centuries of the Hijra had been particularly celebrated for a large number of lady traditionists whose names are mentioned by Ibn Hajar in his work dealing with the prominent persons of the 8th century. Zaynab-al-Sharí, Daqiqa, the daughter of Murshid, Zaynab, the daughter of Ahmad, 'A'isha the daughter of Muhammad, are only a few of the celebrated lady traditionists of the period who delivered lectures on various books and treatises on Ḥadíth and other connected subjects, which were attended by a large number of students including men as well as women. The autograph *sanads* in the manuscripts of al-Mashíkhatu Ma'al-Takhríj of the Kitáb-al-Kifáya and of the Majmua-fil-Ḥadíth which are preserved in the Orienal Public Library of Patna show that these books had been read over by various women traditionists to their students, men as well as women who attended these lectures together.

NEUTRALITY TO THE STATE.

Another important feature of Ḥádíth-literature, is its development without any help or encouragement by the Caliphs, Umayyad or Abbaside. Most of the important traditionists had been either ill-treated by those who reigned in the name of Islamic religion or, in their pious stoicism, refused and rejected their help if it was ever offered.

None of the compilers of the important and generally accepted standard collections of Ḥadíth received by us, from Málik the author of the Muwatta down to Ibn Mája the author of one of the Sunan works, ever received any post or purse from any of the Caliphs or their officials. Almost the whole of the important part of Ḥádíth-literature which we have received, developed only as a result of the spontaneous religious enthusiasm of the Muslim divines in spite of the Caliphs and their courtiers and officials.

DEVOTION AND EXACTITUDE OF THE TRADITIONISTS.

Few of the devotees of any other branch of literature in Arabic, or probably in any other language also, can rival with the devotees of traditions, in their sincere devotion to their subjects and exactitude with regard to it. All the various compiles of the different collections of Ḥádíth laboured hard and suffered immensely for the sake of knowledge. Their devotion to it has been described by some of the modern European Orientalists as 'fanatical.' Their efforts after exactitude which has been characterised by some other Orientalists as 'scrupulous' and 'slavish' had been unsurpassable. They laid down definite strict principles about the methods of learning, teaching and scribing traditions, for the guidance of the students as well as of the teachers of Ḥádíth.

Calcutta. *(Concluded)*

LITERARY BASIS FOR REVIVAL OF INDIAN ARCHITECTURE

S. C. MUKERJEE, B.A. (G.D. ARCH.), A.I.I.A.

Revival of Indian architecture, since long, has been engaging the attention of architects and art critics. It is now universally acknowledged that the indigenous architecture existing or otherwise should be revived. The most patent objections which were raised against its introduction on the score of costliness and as to its adaptability have effectively been met with. A distinct change is apparent in the tendency of architecture in India, for the pseudo-European (or as Havell calls it, Anglo-Indian) style which has been prevalent since the commencement of British rule, seems to be losing ground day by day. A consciousness with regard to the national architecture is slowly appearing. Attempts are now being made to use traditional forms, obtained from interesting relics of the country. Most common features in the street picture of an Indian town to-day are a tiny bit of chajja (sloping cornice), a cusped or Ajanta arch, some distorted south-Indian column, a bracket from Guzerat, Delhi or Bijapore. But this is not all that is meant by a revival.

It is a very mistaken idea that application of some tiny feature willy-nilly from ancient monuments change the style, although when properly handled they are aids to the expression of a particular purpose. The details only do not make up a style, and to revive and resuscitate Indian architecture, one must absorb the spirit in which those ornaments or features have been used. Every architectural detail has some meaning, has a story to tell, a proper grasp of which ensures right application. Besides architectural features, the grouping in plan or elevation, the orientation (*i.e.*, the arrangement of blocks with reference to the prevailing direction of wind) should be on the basis of our Silpa-Sastras, which though hedged in circumlocutory expressions, give clear hints as to the points to be emphasised in a certain building. The disposition of blocks in storeyed mansions or arrangement of rooms therein, is as scientific as can be adopted with advantage for present-day building purposes. Certain parts are projected out, and by an orderly difference of height in them, a pleasing composition, symmetrical or asymmetrical, is obtained. In Vardhamana mansion,[1] a type of which is fit for Kshatriyas, it is suggested that blocks in the south and west should be four-storeyed, the east, north, and central blocks should consist of a single storey only.[2] The general proportion is determined by six simple rules known as Aya, Vyaya, etc.,[3] for ascertaining length, breadth, etc. The main heights of a building are determined by proportions known as Sāntikas,[4] Paushṭikas[5] etc. The right application of those established principles should be the aim of those who are striving for revival, and the superficial embellishments are to be subordinated, which have now become the chief means with so-called sthāpatya-viśāradas to blind the public as to the true self of Indian architecture.

---

[1] It is the largest of the six types of storeyed mansions according to Mānasâra.

[2] *Architecture of Mānasāra* , Vol. IV, P. K. Acharya, pp. 392-93.

[3] *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, P. K. Acharya, pp. 606-11.

[4] *Sāntika* (height)-Breadth.

[5] *Paushtika* (height) = 1¼ Breadth.

The existing relics of the country are too meagre to afford us a thorough and systematic study of the architecture we have in view to revive. The ravages of time, vandalism, and iconoclastic outrage have left but little to develop the lost art of the country on scientific lines. Hence, we shall have to fall back upon a chaotic mass of architectural literature to gather useful information for the purpose. For a scientific development, a proper survey of the extant relics on a comparative method to verify the principles of our Śilpa-Sastras, and a study of those of which there are authentic records in ancient works must be undertaken. There are innumerable references to wonderful architecture not found existing which will perhaps be lost to India for ever, if steps are not taken to revive them. One looks with wonder at the American skyscrapers but we had buildings up to eighteen storeys in height. The existing Gopuras (*i.e.*, the gateways) to the temples in South-India are eight to nine storeys in height. The invention of flying machines had become a monopoly of the wastern nations, but in Samarāngana-Sutradhāra by Bhojarāja[1] (an architectural treatise of the 11th century) there is a vivid description of the machine. Dr. Barua in an article in the *Calcutta Review* [2] suggests that the motive force for those machines were heated mercury. The Indian system of town or village planning is certainly of an advanced order. Mr. Geddes among others strongly supports its adoption. The grand manner of planning which has been adopted for modern American towns is much like our system. The chess-board pattern treatment of ancient Chinese towns is very similar to what we obtain in the Mānasāra and other Śilpa-Śāstras.[3] It is however to be regretted that the City Improvement Trusts of this country seem to be slow and indifferent as to its adoption. The only notable example is the modern town of Joypur, where the layout is on the principle of our Śilpa-Śāstras with some variation to suit the contour of the site.

It is for the right understanding of a particular style of architecture in all its bearing that the study of literature relating to it is absolutely necessary. What is called the South Indian style to-day is not perhaps devoid of a Syrian element, and in reviving the same (which is predominatingly a Hindu style) it is imperative that purer forms should be adopted, after eliminating incoherent foreign elements. The Martanda (sun) temple at Kashmir, a Hindu work of the eighth century, is an example where traces of Indo-Bactrian influence (perhaps entering by way of Gāndhāra) are observed. A very permanent Moslem impress has also been left on the domestic architecture of the place, on account of continued Mahomedan domination for several centuries. Now in order to revive the ancient local style, apart from literary guidance, we shall have to look forward to the adjoining valley of Kangra for purely indigenous forms to replace those features which have been thrust upon it from outside. It is therefore always deceptive to rely mainly upon a superficial survey of monuments for the purpose of revival.

---

[1] *Samarāngana-Sutradhāra*, edited by T. G. Sastri, Chap. 31.

[2] *Calcutta Review*, December, 1933, pp. 289-91.

[3] Compare the *Prastara* type of village plan from *Architecture of Mānasāra* by P. K. Acharya, Vol. V (plate on *Prastara* village, Chap. VII), with the plan of the city of Suchau, p. 183, Vol. II. Yule's *Travels of Marco Polo*, 3rd edition.

There are other aspects equally important connected with the revival. A careful study of the system of construction and use of materials with the help of Sanskrit texts available on the subject should be undertaken. The existing monuments give some idea of the method of construction but that is not sufficient for our purpose. It will be necessary to study and compare the different texts relating to the subject to understand the scientific significance of the various methods adopted in olden days. Experiment with material must be carried on to standardise their use in the light of modern practice. Indian plaster and mortar (components of which vary in different texts) are proverbially strong and adhesive, as a result of which walls not very massive stand even to-day. Collection and seasoning of wood which have been treated in detail in most of the texts, may be accepted as a better process, as woodwork, three or four centuries old, is in a fairly good condition. Craftsmanship in wood as found in Guzerat and upper Deccan is excellent indeed and can be favourably compared with the best Chinese works of the Tang and succeeding dynasties. The method of joinery in wood and stone is so simple and effective that there is hardly any reason for us to copy from other sources and, proper direction being given, craftsmen will be able to follow this. There is an elaborate ritual with regard to the ceremony of laying foundation but the priests now-a-days, on account of their sheer ignorance of the Śāstras,[1] offer puja to Dakshina Kālikā[2] only. As a matter of fact, there is a presiding deity for each and every part of the site and it is obligatory on the Sthapati or his agent to offer puja to each of them. The old and neglected building practices are to be revived and modified where necessary to fit in with the modern practice. Thus in matters of construction also literary directions are of considerable importance.

There are many beautiful and well-preserved remains of Indo-Moslem architecture, claim of which for revival is equally strong. Here again the help of literature must be sought for. Of course it may be argued that certain principles or rules can be deduced from a survey of the existing monuments of the style but they will be hardly sufficient for the purpose. It is considered that Moslem architectural literature is rather scanty but research in this direction is still in its infancy. Brigg's, Rivoira[3] and others have worked on this subject but there is hardly anything, particularly about the Indo-Moslem style, in their works. Only the Archaeological Survey of India publications attempted to deal with the subject. But the authority of most of these works is the standing edifice upon which they make their own observations with appended historical notes. They have in solitary instances attempted to go into original texts in support of their contention and hence can hardly be relied upon. The manuscripts Gour-ī-Amīr and Amāl-i-Sāleh which deal with important works of Persia and the bordering places (the latter refers to the Taj specially) deserve particular mention.[4] At the present state of our knowledge Moslem architectural texts seem to be scanty.

---

[1] Besides works solely devoted to architecture, these rituals are to be found in the *Puranas* (*Matsya* and *Agni*) and Āgamas (*Suprabheda*, *Kāmika*, and *Kārana*).

[2] An incarnation of *Sakti* (Kālī) worshipped in Bengal.

[3] Briggs, *Architecture of Syria and Palestine*; Rivoira of *Moslem Architecture*.

[4] "What India owes to Central Asia in Islamic Architecture" in *Islamic Culture* Jan., 1934.

Regarding Hindu architecture, there is an unsystematised mass of literature in works of Astronomy, History (Puranas) and Religion besides several important texts written particularly on the subject. It will certainly pave the way smooth for revival if the laborious and irksome task of collecting and editing these with notes and illustrations be undertaken. The history of English Renaissance tells us that architects not only loaded their portfolios with sketches and measured drawings of Greek and Roman buildings but also the Latin work of Vitruvius, the father of classic architecture, appeared in different European languages within a short period. For an Indian renaissance, methods similar to those followed by the European architects of the period should necessarily be adopted. Hence, apart from a study of the existing monuments, the literary basisi s one of the fundamentals which cannot be ignored if Indian architecture is to be revived and have an honoured place in the history of architecture of the world.

Miscellany

[*Halting Recovery in American Economy* (BENOYKUMAR SARKAR)—*Kautalya in Buddhist Perspectives* (BENOYKUMAR SARKAR)—*Japanese Shipping Economics* (BENOYKUMAR SARKAR)]

HALTING RECOVERY IN AMERICAN ECONOMY

It takes years to raise an economic recovery to the peak as it takes years to bring an economic depression to the bottom. We have become quite conscious of, or rather disgusted with this tedious process of getting back to the "normal" state of things during the last two years, first, in regard to the price of jute and, secondly, in regard to the gold-position. The story of recovery from every country to-day is the same. Nowhere do we find "roses, roses all the way." The course of recovery is generally considered to be dramatic in the U.S.A. And yet even in that country businessmen, economists and politicians have long given up the hopes of a speedy normalization. The halting, nay, almost provocatively slow processes, constitute the chief topic of discussion among business connoisseurs and persons adept in the handling of conjunctures and economic barometers, for instance, those connected with the *Nation's Business*.

It is very interesting that not even the most optimistic fortune-tellers of the stock exchanges and horoscopists of the economic cycle are venturing to predict today a really worthwhile consummation until 1937.

It is still the consensus of most technical Washington observers, of the non-political variety, that business in 1935, measured by a number of different standards, mainly industrial production, will be somewhat better than in 1934, but not much better, not spectacularly better.

The picture ahead looks like this. A spring peak in early spring, then a gradual but not a critical decline of business activity through the late spring and early summer—a little more than the let-down normally expected at that time of year, then a late fall upturn of moderate proportions. Thus there has been no sustained boom in 1935. Also no collapse, no big crisis.

Public expenditures will help sustain business, will keep it from going too far backward, but will not give it much of a definite push forward.

Recovery is a relative thing, and there are many ways of looking at it. There is no doubt that recovery has been under way for nearly two years.

We have now reached the stage in the business cycle where general business upturn can come only when durable goods have turned upward.

By "durable goods" is meant anything which will last from five years up—automobiles, electrical appliances, refrigerators, houses, and the things which go to make houses, also industrial equipment, steel, rails, locomotives, heavy construction projects, and the like.

The contrast with consumer goods is clear. There cannot be as much gain in consumer goods in the next couple of years as in the past couple of years, say the American experts. Most of the improvement to date has been in consumer goods—stuff which people buy to eat, or wear, or consume at once. Those trades and industries which are "feeling good," which don't understand the continued depression, are lines which make or sell consumer goods, or which depend on them.

In the line of consumer goods Unemployment and relief rolls are about as high now as a year ago. Even with the best of luck on government work relief, the actual purchasing power of the masses cannot be increased much within the next year. Thus, there seems to be no hope of anything like upturn in business based on upturn of consumer goods.

Gains in 1935 will be one-third due to consumer goods, perhaps, and two-thirds to durable goods.

Among industries, new expenditures for durable or capital goods will be largely of the defensive type. Factories will replace obsolete machines, not with the purpose of expansion, but with the idea of bringing production costs down.

These expenditures will not be of spectacular proportions, because, they will come out of surplus, not out of new issues to any great extent.

Housing cannot get going on a big scale in 1935. This refers to private construction of homes, rather than to government construction. The modernization movement will progress well, but the totals will not be great, will not supply the deficiency in the construction lines.

Government efforts to reform home mortgage financing are good, in the right direction, but it will take a year or more to make the effect felt strongly in actual new home construction. It takes time.

Automobiles will have a moderately good year, but the current enthusiastic talk about automobiles as the force to pull people out of depression is now at peak and will subside within a few months.

Electrical equipment and supplies ought to do relatively well, better than most durable goods lines, due largely to government boosting efforts. Air conditioning is a big new industry for the future, but it will take a number of years yet for development.

Railroad purchases will be very moderate. There is much talk about big buying by railroads, with R. F. C., financing, but those who know the inside of the railroad situation feel that buying will be limited to the " must " articles.

Steel production, it would seem cannot be much more than ten per cent. better in 1935 than in 1934.

Government regulations have been tempered and there is no doubt of some expansion of new capital issues, considerable amounts of refinancing. This will be good, but within well informed quarters there is no expectation of any great rise of new capital issues before late in the year.

The budget is unbalanced for the year ending the middle of 1936.

Under these circumstances, inflation is bound to win, for the public always likes inflation while it is on the up. It seems so easy, so stimulating, so beneficial. The politicians who advocate it seem so much more plausible than their long-faced opponents who must go back into history to prove that inflation has its morning after.

To balance the budget in 1936 is politically out of the question. To balance it in 1937 would mean drastic curtailment of the dispensation of public funds (for public works and relief) on the eve of an election. Or it would mean some tremendous increase in taxes, also on election eve. To the political mind, neither is thinkable.

Sometime, somehow, new tricks may be devised by the Government, plausible at the time, perhaps welcomed by the public, but leading inevitably to some form of credit inflation,—the kind of inflation which raises prices and creates speculative business excesses.

Credit inflation is the expansion of bank deposits, of " bank money," due mainly to government borrowings, which are transformed into bank credit.

As for currency inflation, the printing of new quantities of paper money, the chances are that it will not be done, despite numerous pending bills for it, and despite the big push of the inflationary bloc in Congress. Farm mortgages will not be refinanced by new currency. The bonus will not be paid in greenbacks.

Taxes, of course, must be increased. When and how much ? Uncertain. Officials up to the present have talked of business boom next year, 1936, and of rising activity and profits, which, with existing levels of tax rates, would raise ample revenues and make a start toward budget balancing, they said. Now, however, the expectations of business boom are more moderate ; consequently the estimates of revenue receipts are smaller.

There will be a new tax bill in Congress this session, at issue in May and June. It will surely extend most of the excise taxes which otherwise would expire in June. There is about a 50-50 chance that it will also impose new excise taxes on selected commodities or lines, thus raising the tax revenues next year.

BENOYKUMAR SARKAR.

KAUTALYA IN BUDDHIST PERSPECTIVES

So far as literary evidences are concerned, it is *vis-à-vis* (1) Panini, (2) Patanjali, (3) the *Kamasutra*, (4) *Tantrakhyayika*, (5) the *Panchatantra*, (6) the *Yajnavalkya Smriti*, (7) the *Manu Samhita*, (8) the *Raghuvamsa*, (9) the *Sakuntala*, (10) the *Dasakumara Charita*, (11) the *Puranas*, (12) the *Kamandakiniti*, (13) the *Brihat Samhita*, (14) the *Charaka Samhita*, (15) the *Mudrarakshasa*, etc., that the orientations of the *Arthasastra* were investigated up till now. These are all Sanskritic and " Hindu " sources. A few Jaina sources were also studied, namely, the (1) *Nitivakyamrita*, (2) the *Nandi Sutta*, (3) *Anuyogadvara*.

The Buddhist and Pali sources had been neglected. Hopkins's reference to the *Jatakas* was very slight. New lights, therefore, have been thrown on the Kautalya question by the publication of H. E. Johnston's paper on ' Two Studies in the Arthasastra of Kautalya " in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London) for January, 1929, because here the perspectives are derived from Buddhist sources, namely, (1) the works of Asvaghosa (second century A.C. ?) (2) Aryasura's *Jataka Mala* (fourth century A.C.?) and (3) the *Lankavatarasutra* (fourth century A.C. ?)

It is to be understood, however, that the dates of these Buddhist texts are in any case as questionable as those of the " Hindu " and Jaina texts. mentioned above. Altogether, we encounter once more the eternal problem of Indian chronology,—namely, the ascertainment of an unknown with reference to another unknown or questionable.

Let us begin with Johnston's general orientations. On the one hand, he would not care to read into the *Arthasastra* the " ideas of a great statesman or a deep political thinker." On the other hand, he believes that " half its value is missed by treating it as the pedantic theories of a Pandit." In his judgment it is " in essence the work of a practical administrator " whose interest in political theories does not go beyond the considerations of the " King's advantage." The *Arthasastra* is, besides, alleged to be " unfettered by moral or religious prejudices except in so far as their existence in others affects the execution of policy."

In his *Saundarananda* Asvaghosa uses the concept of the " conquest of the earth," says Johnston. But the doctrine of *vijigisu* or world-conqueror in the chauvinistic sense was not used with the alleged " relentless logic " in Asvaghosa's days as in the days of Kautalya. In Johnston's logic Asvaghosa must therefore be earlier than Kautalya.

But this interpretation is questionable. One might perhaps argue, on the contrary, that although the Kautalyan category was already there

Asvaghosa's personal message happened to be different from, nay, the opposite of Kautalya's. Hence to the one it was very subsidiary while to the other it was a prominent item in thought. May be, even the same category of world-conquest was used in a humane manner by Asvaghosa while in Kautalya's mentality it was perhaps nothing but a creed of alleged self-aggrandisement of the most materialistic dye.

From the analysis of philosophical doctrines it is never safe to argue about their chronological relations. Let us take a historical fact. It was during the epoch of "pacifistic" propaganda by Sakya the Buddha's followers that Chandragupta Maurya knew how to organize his legions and consummate his *digvijaya*. Sakya's teachings may have been unknown or unnoteworthy to the officials of the Maurya "general staff." This does not prove that the Buddha or his followers were later in time than Chandragupta Maurya or mere nonentities on any count.

Johnston does not likewise seem to be taking a commonsense view when he believes that in his *Buddhacharita* Asvaghosa might have seized the opportunity to condemn the *Realpolitik*, so to say, of the Kautalyan *Arthasastra*, had this latter treatise been known to be a "standard work" by this time.

As suggested above, the situation might be entirely otherwise. In other words the alleged Kautalyan chauvinism and cult of self-aggrandisement may have been quite dominant in the philosophical *milieu* of Hindustan for a number of centuries. But not everybody cared to take interest in it or to have the inspiration to condemn it,—not, at any rate, the professors of Sakyan cult of humanitarianism, Asokan *Dhamma* and so forth. The world was pluralistic enough for both the Asvaghosan and the Kautalyan strands of life and thought. From the indifference of Asvaghosa in regard to Kautalya we can infer nothing as to the chronological relations between the two. We understand simply that neither in *Saundarananda* not in *Buddhacharita* are we to find the characteristic messages of the *Arthasastra*. To-day, for instance, every power in Eur-America and Asia is keeping its gun powder dry although a dominant political and moral philosophy of the hour is to be seen in the cult of world-peace, disarmament and what not. The philosophers of militaristic energism are plying their trade merrily although anti-militaristic preachings over the radio are frequent.

In Aryasura's *Jataka Mala* Johnston detects certain tenets which seem to be like those of Kautalya. The phrase *nitikautilyaprasangesu* used by Aryasura has been supposed to contain Kautalya's name. According to Johnston, therefore, "it is quite certain that Aryasura knew the *Arthasastra* of Kautalya and that in his day it was regarded as the standard work."

Unfortunately the passages cited indicate nothing more than a moralist's "shortest way" with politics. And as it is the object of the writer to condemn just those aspects of *Khattavijja* or *Ksatriyavidya*, the Kastriya science, or politics which deal with diplomatic manoeuvres, double dealings, intrigues, etc., the common noun *nitikautilya* has been used. No person need be understood here as a matter of course and there is no question of the *Arthasastra* being a standard book or even a book in the time of Aryasura.

Nitikautilya is crookedness of policy. It is not identical with *Kautilyaniti* (politics or political science or statecraft). There is no presumption to think that either a book or an author is meant here. Even if *Kautilyaniti* had been used by Aryasura one might suspect perhaps that we had here a sly hit at the book or the author or both. But in *nitikautilya* no suggestion along those lines can be automatically entertained.

However, Johnston's interpretations bring the *Arthasastra* between Asvaghosa of the second century A. C. and Aryasura of the fourth century. A. C. The lower limit of its composition can hardly be later than 250 A. C., says he.

The *Lankavatarasutra* has an appendix of 884 slokas which belongs to the fith century A. C. In the prophecy about future *risis* that are to arise, the appendix mentions them in the following order : (1) Panini, (2) Katyayana, (3) Yajnavalkya, (4) Valmiki, (5) Masuraksa, (6) Kautilya, (7) Asvalayana and (8) the scion of the Sakyas.

The mention of Kautilya in the fifth century list of *risis* without reference to the Mauryas leads Johnston to the following conclusion; Visnugupta Kautilya, the author of the *Arthasastra,* was a different person from the minister of Chandragupta Maurya, whose name perhaps was Chanakya.

This line of reasoning is not long followed by Johnston. One finds that it is arbitrary. In any case he hastens to conclude that the lower limit of the composition of the *Arthasastra* is certainly not later than about 250 A. C., and that the upper limit is perhaps the beginning of the Christian era.

Incidentally it is to be observed that Masuraksa is known as the author of *Nitisastra* in the Tibetan Tanjur. This work, be it noted further, is placed in that list " just after a slightly longer work called both *Chanakya nitisastra* and *Chanakya rajanitisastra.*"

Johnston has approached the *Arthasastra* not only from the perspective of Buddhist ideology but also from that of administrative experience. He believes that " Kautilya's attitude comes naturally in fact to all who have been engaged in administrative work." And on the strength of such experience he has attempted explanations of certain passages on land tenure and agriculture which need not be discussed in this context. But it is worth while to observe that he finds himself unable to accept the theories set out in Breloer's *Kautaliya-Studien* I. *Das Grundeigentum in Indien* (Bonn 1927). His disagreement with Breloer on certain issues is radical.

BENOYKUMAR SARKAR

JAPANESE SHIPPING ECONOMICS

The progress of Japan in the shipping industry is an important phenomenon of recent years. And this is intimately connected with her industrial and commercial expansion. According to the reports published by the *Oriental Economist* it appears that among the many indices of economic recovery in the world-economy none is more important than the Japanese activities in the shipping world.

The main cause is the high-speed development of all branches of Japanese industry and the consequently brisk movements, both ways, of raw materials and finished merchandise. Last year's volume of foreign trade in both directions represented a 30% increase, giving employment to a far larger number of deep-sea vessels than in other years, and this had a beneficial effect on the near-sea (coasting) trade through a reduced supply of bottoms.

Besides being indicative of decided improvement in all departments of shipping activity last year over the previous year, the tabulations clearly disclose the fact that charter rates far outstripped freight rates in their upward movement. Under the circumstances, not only the tonnage of chartered foreign vessels, chiefly Chinese, gained at a rapid pace, but a general cry was rising among shipping operators for a removal of the ban on foreign-ship imports.

The development is symptomatic both of boom shipping conditions and of a dearth in the supply of tonnage to a harmful degree. Dearth of tonnage is attested by complete absence of any idle tonnage even in these days of worldwide shipping stagnation. Many in shipping circles are already advocating at least a partial lifting of the ship import ban. These men contend that along with the enforcement of the Ship Improvement Law, ship import regulation has been largely accountable for the present prosperity. Its continuation is undoubtedly desirable. But another side to the question is the fact that Japanese operators are having recourse to foreign vessels aggregating 300,000 tons, evidencing an under-supply of bottoms. To obtain relief from the prevailing situation, modification of the ship import regulation has been in progress. Shipping opinion rather seems to favour of such a sentiment increasingly.

After protracted departmental negotiations the Government is now ready to give effect to the second Ship Improvement Measure, for which the direct incentive, of course, has been the encouraging result shown by the first one. The new measure provides that 30 yen be granted as subsidy for every ton of a superior ship built, and every ton of an old one scrapped. New tonnage to be constructed according to this plan is to be 50,000 tons and the law is to be in force for one year. It is clear that, like the previous one, the new measure will do much toward breaking up small and medium-size obsolete ships and toward adding many superior vessels to the Japanese merchant marine. Applications have already been filed in sufficient measure to fill up the prescribed tonnage, as follows: By the Nippon Yusen Kaisha for three 7000-ton vessels to be placed in its European service; the Osaka Shosen Kaisha, two ships of 7,000 tons each, also for European service; and the Mitsui Bushan Kaisha for two 7000-ton ships of special construction.

While the law is effective only for a year, the chances are for the legislation to be renewed so as to make it virtually a semi-permanent law.

Arguments by shipping corporations for subsidized building may obtain Government endorsement in view of the fact that Great Britain and other nations are now inclined to a vigorous merchant-shipping expansion policy by state subsidy.

Netherlands Indies-Japan shipping negotiations, a matter of outstanding importance for the future of Japanese shipping, have not made any progress to warrant a forecast. A successful conclusion, it is needless to say, should exercise a stabilizing influence on Japanese shipping activities.

Shipping prosperity is more than ever dependent on foreign trade conditions, domestic industrial activity, movements of foreign exchange, etc. In this respect President Kenkichi Kagami of the Nippon Yusen Kaisha made the following observation: "The outlook for 1935 shipping trade, it appears, is for a slightly less pronounced activity than in the year 1934. Unless some new constructive factors loom up, a recovery in world trade (the fundamental influence on shipping activity) will be difficult to attain, specially in view of the worldwide application of quota systems, contingent foreign exchange control, and other trade impediments whose efficacy should begin to manifest itself during the current year." Japanese trade prospects are said to be not encouraging. The higher costs of imported raw materials and a rise in commodity prices at home are tending to contract exports and lead to a retrogression in import activity also.

BENOYKUMAR SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books

Valmiki Ramayana condensed in the Poet's own words—Text in Devanagari and English Translation by Vidyasagara Vidyavachaspati Prof. P. P. S. Sastri, B.A. (Oxon.), M.A., with a Foreword by the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P.C., C.H., LL.D. published by G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras, Price Re. 1, 4 as.

This is an abridged version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* executed with great caution and industry. The bulk has been reduced without jeopardising the connection or continuity of the story. As the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri points out in the Foreword, " no vestiges are visible of the dismemberment, no transfusion from a foreign organism, no prose links, no variation from the *anushtubh* metre." A plain narrative of the Rāmāyaṇa, with a direct appeal, has been sought to be set before us; the varying sentiments that rise do not cease to be effective even without the artificial devices of ornament, so necessary for poetic excellence. The reader is put face to face with the inherent beauty of the form and is saved the obsession that the glittering garb inflicts. Yet the effect is hardly diminished. The reader is made to do his own thinking instead of being forced to follow the only course of the poet's thought.

S. N. M.

The Hill Bhuiyas of Orissa, with comparative notes on Plains Bhuiyas by Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A. (Man in India office, Ranchi, 1935, pp. 320 ; and Appendix of Anthropometrical measurements by Rameschandra Roy, M.SC.).

The author, the well known veteran ethnographist of Chhota Nagpur, is to be congratulated on his ' fifth monograph on the aboriginal tribes of the Central Hill belt of India where he is working for the last twenty-five years.' Anybody who has had occasion to deal with his earliest works, still practically the only monographs of tribes like the Mundas, will appreciate the steady growth in intensity and depth, accuracy of observation and scientific presentation in the later works. In fact this work can be compared very favourably with such outstanding classics as on the Veddas or the Todas or the Andamanese.

First of all the discarded theory of the identity of the aboriginal Bhuiya tribes with the Baro-Bhuiyas is dealt with by him in brief. The chapter on ' Racial Affinities ' takes up the previous suggestions of their affinities with ' Buis ' of Madras by Campbell or with the ' Coles ' as suggested by Stirling or with the ' Savaras ' as noticed by Dalton. He mentions several cultural traits which this tribe possesses in common with the Mundas such as the cult of the ancestral spirits, several types of marriage, the village and kinship organization and classes it with the ' Munda tribes of the Central Belt of India' and not with the Dravidian-speaking tribes of the South. But with the hundred measurements taken by his son, a brilliant graduate in Anthropology, which are very nicely and statistically tabulated, naturally some co-efficient of Racial correlations worked out would have solved the problem more satisfactorily.

The anthropometric data as analysed show a dominant dolichocephalic platyrrhine type and one would have liked to know what groups it will fit in view of Zuckermann's recent revival of Risley's Northern and Southern Dravidian types or Eickstedt's proposal to distinguish between a Melanid Race and a Gondid Race in this tract.

The economic life and material culture of this tribe who still kindle fire by twirling fire-sticks and eke out a crude livelihood by collecting edible roots or fruits and a shifting cultivation in an inhospitable environment, is well described. Some attempts at correlation of economic types of life and their political organisation or the ecological nature of the material culture would have made the chapter complete. The ethnographic descriptions of marriage, disposal of the dead, religion and magic and folk-lore bring out the author at his best. So also a village consisting of the theoretical descendants of one ancestor with the priest Dieuri or Diuri coming from the elder branch and a Naik or Pradhan, the secular headman, coming from a younger branch, leads one to suspect the existence of a submerged dual organisation. Thus for matrimonial purposes the villages are grouped into *kutumb* (relatives) who do not intermarry amongst themselves but seek brides from the other moiety, the *bandhu* (friend) villages—a sort of territorial bifurcation. There is also a distinct splitting of relationship terms into ' baru ' (father's side) and māru (mother's side) relations. Here, as in his previous monograph, the great ethnographist has drawn attention to the similarity of these tribes with the Melanesian Pentecost islanders and the Australian Dieris in joking relations between grandparents and grandchildren and the brilliant conjecture of Radcliffe Browne that the Melanesian, Australian and Dravidian (pre-Dravidian?) have ultimately diverged out of a common root-stock, should be tested by detailed analysis of an area of which the Rai Bahadur's first-hand knowledge is unrivalled and which has time and again evoked Australian comparisons.

Besides this functional bifurcation into priestly and headman groups in each village and grouping of the villages into two matrimonial groups, there is an interesting territorial grouping of the villages into groups of three, five, seven or thirty-two for administrative purposes known as '*Bārs*' which constitute the council of village elders in the '*Bār-Panchāyets.*' The influence of religion as a controlling factor in the social organisation has been very clearly brought out and so also the distinction between the cultures of the Hill Bhuiyās and the more hinduised Plains Bhuiyas. The keynote of the culture of the former is stated to be the desire of placing himself in harmonious relations with his human neighbours and with the invisible supernatural world.' A Dravidian element is also said to have entered probably into the racial composition of the Plains Bhuiyās but they have more affinities with the Pani Bhuiyas of the hills. Ethnographers will welcome this fine succinct account of a people who were once dominant in the Keonjhar, Pal Lahera and Bonai States.

P. MITRA.

Science and Monism, by W. P. D. Wightman, M.SC., PH.D., Foreword by Sir Percy Nunn, M.A., D.SC., LITT.D., LL.D., George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London., 15*s*. net.

No better apology could be conceived for the appearance of a book of this kind than the one made by Sir Percy Nunn in the *Foreword.* " In the intellectual life of our age there is nothing more striking, nor perhaps more significant, than the way in which Science and Philosophy, after a long period of estrangement, have come together again and renewed their ancient comradeship. In such an atmosphere Dr. Wightman's book should have a ready welcome. For it is an able and thorough study of one of those great ideas that have inflamed the imagination and guided the inquiries both of philosophers and of men of science since the history of thought began, and is written with a breadth of competence which not many students could achieve." Having gone through the different chapters, we are readily inclined to endorse the statement *in toto*.

What has inspired this volume is the author's " belief that the time was ripe for a reinvestigation of the problem, as old as science itself, of the unity of nature" (*Preface*, p. 11). Assuredly, this discovery is as happy as it is opportune. It is a patent fact that efforts at philosophical synthesis have been, during the last century, mostly in a minor key. But a century's accumulation of scientific materials has once more set the inquiring mind on the way to philosophic construction—to envisage, in particular, " the problem of whether the scientific world-picture encourages us to adopt a monistic philosophy " (*ibid*). He does not, however, ignore or minimise the difficulties that stand in the way. For one thing he is right in declaring that at the present day the accumulation of scientific knowledge is so rapid and the esteem in which it is held so high, that its so-called " facts are often removed from their context and used to " prove " the validity of some philosophical belief to which they have no *immediate* relevance (*ibid*). Accordingly, " the hope of the future," he opines, " lies in a greater emphasis being placed upon the *history* of concepts." Agreeably to this conviction, the first part of the book pursues ' the History of the Monistic concept ' through the ' classical period,' the ' Middle Ages and the Renaissance' to ' the Birth of Modern Science and Philosophy ' as registered in the ' Realistic Monism Before Haeckel.' He considers in this connection the historical significance of the ' unqualified monism ' of Spinoza, and ' the failure of Spinozism' in procuring for it a well-reasoned metaphysical status. For as against Descartes whose method was ' synthetic'—his argument proceeding from ' I ' to the universe,—Spinoza " leapt intuitively to the idea of his synthesis, '*Deus sive natura*,' the working out of which proceeded analytically down to individual things" (p. 66). While we may unquestionably " regard Spinoza's philosophy as the most comprehensive and daring flight of man's unifying imagination,'—as " the inevitable starting-point of every future substantival monism,"—its " failure to achieve this without the collocation of an attributive dualism is a salutary warning to his successors." Further, it has through this signal failure of his demonstrated that the essential hollowness of all substantial monisms whose substance is characterised by what Professor Whitehead calls the " baseless metaphysical doctrine of undifferentiated endurance " (*Process and Reality*, p. 107) can be avoided by a reshaped form of the conception of substance as the *prius* of all other concepts ' (p. 108).

Part II reviews ' the monistic tendencies in Science ' down to the end of the Nineteenth century—particularly, the essential aspects of the historical development of those scientific facts upon which the superstructure of nineteenth century Science was raised. Part III institutes an enquiry into the ' Data and Concepts of Natural Science,' such as the laws of nature, the notion of causality and the validity of Induction. The main purpose of Part II is to establish 'the Unity of Matter.' the ' Unity of Natural Forces,' manifesting themselves in gravitation, heat, light, magnetism and electricity, etc., and finally the ' Unity of Life' as revealing itself in the ' Unity of Living Substance,' the ' Unity of Growth and Activity,' the ' Unity of Origin,' and the 'Unity of the Living and the Non-Living.' The arguments adduced in this regard are far too technical to be examined here. But the point that has been conclusively established by the cumulative force of evidences is that "Natural Science is conceptual thinking" (p. 260). Accordingly, Part III, initiates an epistemological discussion regarding the value and validity of the 'data' and concepts of Natural Science—which is clearly focalised in the concluding reflection that 'the mere fact that a belief *does* work over a sufficiently wide field of experience is in itself a proof of its partaking of the nature of, though not identical with absolute truth' (p. 300). Now, on the basis of these findings Part IV essays a synthetic construction—not in the shape of demonstrable conclusions, but of speculative hints regarding "the *kind* of monism which the present state of science permits us to envisage" (*Preface*, p. 12). Conformably thereto, our author presses, 'beyond matter,'' "beyond energy" of Natural Science, and inspires us in the end with "strong hope that the goal to which it is approaching is the one which has been the starting-point of many speculative philosophers......the ONE in which *natura naturans* expresses itself eternally as *natura naturata*; where the misted hills and the atoms composing them are alike real, alike limited by partaking of duration; where the mind of man will at length understand, as his love *sub specie æternitatis* has always felt that

> The One remains, the many change and pass;
> Heaven's light for ever shines, Earth's shadows fly;
> Life like a dome of many-coloured glass,
> Stains the white radiance of Eternity."

S. K. DAS.

Studies in the Land Economics of Bengal, by Sachin Sen, M.A. B.L., with a foreword by the Hon'ble Sir B. P. Singh Roy, KT., The Book Company Ltd., Calcutta., Price Rs. 6, pp. 402.

In spite of the fact that the predominant bias of modern India is towards greater industrialisation it cannot be denied that rural economics is still the dominant fact in our life. It is, however, unfortunately true that until now Indian economists have not yet paid that amount of attention to land economics as the importance of the subject demands. The result of this neglect is to be found in the numerous propagandist literature that has been published on the subject from the day Permanent Settlement was an accomplished fact. There was a time when the Permanent Settlement was a live issue in current politics and it was no less a person than Mr. R. C. Dutta who had to take the cudgel on behalf of the permanently settled estates and advocate the extension of the principle of permanent settlement as an insurance against famine. Lord Curzon's Government however gave a quietus to the controversy by his fiat that under no circumstances permanent settlement would be extended to other provinces. The famous 1902 resolution of the Government of India marks perhaps a definite swing of official opinion against the Permanent Settlement and since that time we have side by side the two systems of land tenure to judge as to the comparative merits of each in the national economy. It cannot indeed be denied that the comparative wealth of the Bengal ryot and the middle classes and their greater taxable capacity are due to the operation of the Permanent Settlement. From the Government point of view even, it is to be noted that Bengal might have paid less in the shape of land revenue but she has more than counterbalanced the deficit by paying more income-tax, customs duties and stamp duties. As a matter of fact, barring Bombay, Bengal is the only province in India where the incidence of taxation per capita is the highest. Mr. Sen rightly points out that "the inelasticity of the land revenue in the province has been amply compensated for by the contributions of the province under other heads. Paradoxical as it may appear, it is a fact that interference with the Permanent Settlement regulations may increase the land revenue but would affect stamp, income-tax and customs receipts (p. 72). It was indeed an addition of insult to injury when in justification of the inequities of the Meston Award Bengal was told that she must pay for the inelasticity of land revenue due to Permanent Settlement.

Was the Permanent Settlement a blunder ? Mr. Sen puts the problem in its proper perspective when he reminds us that "our agricultural problems are not bound up with the question of ownership; they lie deeper and a more scientific approach to the question is desired. It is no doubt true that the Bengal zemindar did not prove equal to the high expectations of the authors of Permanent Settlement. The statement that ' the zemindars rose to the occasion ; they extended agriculture, they saw to the interests of the ryots, they converted lands into economic holdings, in short they brought about peace and prosperity in the land" (p. 86), would however be disputed by many. Bengal has paid a very dear price for the evil of absentee landlordism for which the Permanent Settlement and the ring of intermediaries in land ownership that followed must be held liable to a considerable extent. Mr. Sen has indeed raised a very important point in favour of the landlord when he tries to put the whole blame for the indifference of the zemindar to tenancy legislation that has been introduced since the eighties of the last century. "Before the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885 the landlord was the dominant partner. The landlord was responsible for many improvements ; he sunk capital in drainage, land reclamation and other necessary improvements and relief works. But now legislation has relegated the landlord to the position of a receiver of rent. His power of control is negligible, low returns or no returns on the investment in agriculture have made capital extremely shy. The landlord's powers have been crippled, so his interest has slackened." Mr. Sen would go further in his drive against tenancy legislation—" The Bengal Tenancy Act is not a measure for the improvement of land; it has taken away the powers of the landlords on the plea of protesting the welfare of the ryots and it has managed also to screw more revenue under stamps by promising to decide every dispute in court." It is no doubt a fact that litigation is one of the indirect results of tenancy legislation and that in the duel that has inevitably followed between the landlord and the tenant for the ownership of the land the interest in the improvement of land has been forgotten. It is a pity that Mr. Sen did not pursue the point further and rests content with a mere assertion made in the introduction of his book in such an important matter like this. The tenancy legislation is an open recognition of the principle that the welfare of the ryots is the concern of the state and the advocates of this measure stressed its necessity on the ground that the zemindar had proved indifferent to the real needs of the tenants. Mr. Sen tries to prove the other way about, that much of the indifference that is ascribable to the zemindars was due to tenancy legislation. There is no doubt a vicious circle about the whole affair in a measure which is essentially a compromise between two opposite principles some evil is bound to follow. Mr. Sen would have certainly done real justice to the cause of the landlords had he made tenancy legislation the subject matter of a special study and devoted a separate chapter to this all-important aspect of our land economics. There is already much uneasy talk about the nationalisation of land by publicists with the communists in the rear. The Government had also made a further encroachment intc the rights of the landlords in their " Rural Development Bill " which is now on the legislative anvil. Not a session of the Begal Legislative Council passes without a heated debate attacking the Permanent Settlement. In the controversy the essential fact is forgotten that " the land system on the basis of the Permanent Settlement has taken a deep root in the country ; the economic and social structures of the country are broadbased on the system and any change thereof would prejudicially affect the entire rural organisation " and bring about a veritable revolution. The Bengali middle class with its culture and virile outlook on life is perhaps the best justification of the Permanent Settlement.

Mr. Sen has devoted six chapters out of seven to the elucidation and evaluation of the position of the landlord as he is the " dominant partner " in our land economics. The ryot has also been allotted a big chapter where many of the schemes for agricultural betterment suggested by the various Commissions and Committees beginning from the Royal Commission of Agriculture have been analysed. The need for the provision of cheap credit facilities to the ryot, the need for marketing, the problem of public health, transport, dead rivers of Bengal, water hyacinth, road development and the growth of uneconomic holdings have been analysed with a view to suggest a scheme for the betterment of the condition of the ryot.

Mr. Sen's studies are scholarly and the publication of the book is timely. The main interest in this useful publication is to be found in the fact that unlike the usual monographs on the land question it is not merely a research work ; the author is fully alive to the necessity of making his studies up to date and suggesting solutions which are of current interest. Mr. Sen may find many to disagree with his main points. But he will find a great many more to thank him heartily for introducing life into a question which was the particular delight of research workers merely and for bringing a scholarly mind into a burning question of the day.

B. R. BISWAS

Secrets of Successful Teaching by Corrie (*née* Gordon) Fearon, p. 122, Srinivas Varadachari, Madras, 1934, Re. 1-4-0.

Mrs. Fearon is known to educators in India for her earlier writings on children's education and especially a handy co-operative volume on Elementary School Teaching published several years ago by the Oxford University Press under her supervision. The matter of the present volume under review formed the basis of a series of lectures to the senior students of the Froebel Training College, London, and several chapters of the book were included in the College Magazine. The work has been undertaken as an answer to the request of students of the Training College who often come to the authoress for some practical advice " on the eve of their leaving to take up a post."

The book is no doubt a good introduction for teachers and laymen who are interested in childhood education. It is hardly to be of much use to those who have already undergone a course of systematic training in any recognised training institution. The sound practical hints included in its pages are fragmentary in character and though the writer has spared no pains to make her themes interesting with illustrations drawn from her own experience in India and England, she has not been able to do full justice to such topics as "What is in a name,"? "I dis-remember," "Mr. Faint-heart." The writer should have done well if she had given (*i*) more hints about dis-remembering, especially those types which we need most in India; (*ii*) description of a few typical experiments on memory, forgetting and display of personal fear. The first three chapters of the book deal with the new trends in education while the remaining nine chapters discuss various topics connected with educational psychology and school management. It is evident from the reading of the chapters dealing with psychological topics that psychology is not Mrs. Fearon's forte. However the popular style of the book will commend to all teachers under training and will even appeal to laymen who will profit more by reading its pages.

S. ROY.

Kaulajnananirnaya and some minor texts of the School of Matsyendranatha. Edited with an Introduction by Dr. Prabodhchandra Bagchi, M.A., DOCTEUR ÈS LETTRES (Paris), Lecturer, Calcutta University. Pages 92 and 143. Calcutta Sanskrit Series, No. III, 1934.

The book under review is a valuable contribution to the study of the Tantras which, qualitatively and quantitatively, form the most important and indispensible source of our religious and cultural history of the period from the 8th to about the 13th century. An understanding of the Tantras is therefore essential for an understanding and interpretation of the religious and cultural history, especially of Bengal, Assam, Nepal and portions of Bihar. The first step towards that understanding is certainly a systematic search of Tantric texts of various schools, and next, a careful editing of texts so far as available. Dr. Bagchi has set himself to both these tasks, and the present book is the first outcome of his labours. The texts, five in number, were discovered by Dr. Bagchi in the archives of the State collection of MSS. of the Nepal Government, and are here published for the first time. They are: one text on *Kaulajñānanirṇaya*, two on *Akulavīratantram*, one on *Kulānanda* (*tantram*), and one on *Jñanakārikā*. All the texts relate themselves to Matsyendranātha and his school who play the most important rôle in the history of mediaeval Indian mysticism. The texts edited are very old and the manuscripts of some of them go back to the eleventh century. The doctrines preached by Matsyendranātha and his followers served as the basis of the various later mystic schools now prevalent in Bengal, Assam, Nepal, Maharashtra and other places. But though he occupies such an important place in the religious history of India, very little definite information was so far forthcoming regarding his doctrines and his times. The want is now removed to a great extent by these discoveries of Dr. Bagchi in Nepal.

In an elaborate Introduction the editor has brought together all the available information about the school and its founder. In regard to the time of Matsyendranātha he has refuted the earlier theories of Prof. S. Lévi and Dr. S. Shahidullah who believed that Matsyendranātha lived in the 7th century A. D. Dr. Bagchi has tried to show that Matsyendranātha could not have lived before the middle of the 10th century. He has ably examined the various legends relating to Matsyendranātha current in different parts of northern India, and has come to the conclusion that "Matsyendranātha and his school originated and flourished in Bengal and most probably in Eastern Bengal. The teachings of the school later on spread to different parts of India and the original legend was elaborated and expanded in different fashions in those places." The identification of Lui Pa with Matsyendranātha seems to be evident; equally evident is the editor's statement that there is some truth in the tradition which associates Haṭhayoga with Matsyendranātha. The parallelisms and points of agreement, brought out by the editor, between these texts and the Buddhist Tantras must also be considered very happy indeed, but one may not be so inclined to accept his identification of Candradvipa, the birth place of Matsyendranātha, with Sandwip in opposition to its traditional identification with the coastal region of Backergunj. The most brilliant part of the Introduction is of course where Dr. Bagchi throws considerable new light on the history of the school, systematises the doctrines preached through the texts, and thus provides a sure basis for further study on the religious history of mediaeval India.

N. RAY

Abstract

FUTURE OF PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT

In the April number of *The Hibbert Journal,* Mr. Herbert L. Stewart discusses the defects and merits of parliamentary government with reference to its alternative suggested by implication by some modern political economists and practised by more than one country, in an article entitled, 'Can Parliamentary Government endure?' Of the faults of parliamentary government, he distinguishes those which belong to the machinery itself and others which are 'due either to incompetence or to dishonesty in those by whom the machine is managed.' In this connection he refers to the views of eminent economists and political philosophers like Sir Arthur Salter, Sir Josiah Stamp and Prof. Harold Laski which he accepts with a little comment here and there. The defect of the parliamentary government having been granted, he goes on to discuss the alternative of the Fascist dictatorship and shows that the picture it assumes is by no means flattering and certainly does not gain in comparison. In conclusion, the writer gives a fair description of the parliamentary government which shows another side of the shield different from that presented in the earlier part of the article. He says:

> " What is the essence of parliamentary government? For purposes of caricature, it may be depicted as an appeal to the masses to judge, in heated and tumultuous assembly, the fine issues of trade and finance, of foreign affairs and international relationship. It is easy to show how slight is the assurance of good result where a task so delicate has to be attempted with an instrument so clumsy. Probabilities of disaster may be set forth in appalling figures of the logic of chance. But the aphorists, as usual, have sacrificed truth to an epigram, and it is because he recognises how far their argument has drifted from the facts that the average citizen hears unmoved their forecasts of calamity. In the first place, he knows that in an English, a Canadian or an American election, the choice is seldom or never between the party of safety and the party of ruin: it is rather between two parties for each of which a great deal may be said, to either of which public affairs can with considerable confidence be committed, and between which the differences are so inconsiderable that highly intelligent people often change their side from one contest to another. The average citizen whatever he has heard said, or has even joined in saying amid the heat of an election battle, knows that it is not the old prophetic alternative of choice between blessing and curse which he has to face at the ballot box. He expects that whichever way the result turns out, men of competent brain, and on the whole of honest patriotic purpose will be installed in power. So sure is he of this, that however strongly he may feel on the side of his own political group in the campaign, he will quickly after a defeat fall into a train of reflections about the value of a change, and the inevitable corruption of any party, even the best, when it has been in power too long. Moreover, every spectator of a contest can see how it is on no issues of technical or expert knowledge that the decision chiefly turns. As to which side is right on such points, the average voter is not more incompetent to judge than he is indisposed to inquire ; and if Sir Josiah Stamp assails his ear with one story, while Mr. John Maynard Keynes insists upon its contradiction, the average voter assumes that he can follow either without involving the State in any irreparable collapse. Perhaps he decides, most wisely of all,

that he will follow each of them some part of the way or follow them in turn and judge by results—as he might two rival physicians.

"It is just here—in his resolve to *judge by results*—that the average English or French or American voter will make his stand for the parliamentary system against any attempt to foist upon him a dictatorship based on pseudo-scientific reasoning. The essence of parliamentary government lies in the recurring opportunity to cashier our representatives for misuse of their trust. As in the case of doctors, we may be poor critics of their method, but we recognise to what condition we have been conducted by it. And in contrast with the case of the doctors, this time we have rival experts who will criticise one another in our presence with the utmost freedom!

"It has often been urged that changes in political constitution make no serious difference. Dr. Johnson said he would not pay half a guinea to live under one form of government rather than under another. There is a great deal to be said for such a view, if we limit the possible varieties to those which the people can periodically change. Granted the recurrence at intervals not too far removed of a public accounting, it may matter little whether we have a republic or a monarchy or even an oligarchy. There may be the largest devolution of trust, especially as at present in the United States, to a highly trained Executive, always provided that the power to recall is neither formally abolished nor rendered in practice too difficult of exercise. That no man, as Mr. Baldwin has lately said, is either wise enough or good enough to have the interests of others at his arbitrary disposal, is a first truth about government, of which we have had such long experience that we should be ashamed not only to doubt it but to reargue it.

"Why, then, all this recent 'recoil from freedom,' as a writer in *The Round Table* has put it? For explanation I think we must turn not to faults of structure, but to faults of management. Public confidence in leaders will recover from many a shock, but not easily or completely from all shocks, and of late in not a few countries this guarantee has been subjected to a greater strain than it will bear. Perhaps public men are not less scrupulous than they used to be: in that case the public must have become rather more sensitive and vigilant: explain, for example, French reactions to the Stavisky case either way you choose. The misuse of parliamentary institutions has indeed been such that there is less ground for surprise at their present insecurity than at the tenacious hold which it has taken so long to loosen. Doubt about our traditional dogmas on representative government has been like religious doubt, at first strictly forbidden, but growing stronger as the methods for repressing it became more obviously discreditable, until even the most resolute defenders of the ancient system have begun to welcome the critics who are merely modernists, not unbelieving. One observes the great source of trouble in that most depressing of scenes, an election campaign. To borrow a metaphor from a quite different field, party methods have meant such depreciating of the political currency, such debasing of the political coinage, that the arguments a speaker now presents in a campaign are looked at as men used to look at the Russian rouble or the German mark: every tender is received with suspicion. And for all this there seems to be no real remedy except moral deflation—a return in politics to the moral Gold Standard.

"To make the point clear, one must put it in a somewhat exaggerated form, taking advantage of what has been well called 'the crude vigor of antithesis.' It is not, I think, upon the leaders that criticism should wholly or even chiefly fall. The mood of easy public indulgence towards the corruptions has gone far to make political leadership still more corrupt. We have intimated to our politicians that only some of us desire, and none really expect, them to be quite honest. One can see this in our very altered use of some old terms. When the young American or Canadian student reads in Aristotle that 'ethics is a branch of politics,' he wonders what such a paradox can mean, for he has commonly heard politics described as no serious enterprise, and not even an honest game, but only a game in which everyone is expected periodically to cheat, and to be deterred from cheating only when the national existence is at stake. Think of the sinister suggestiveness of the remark so usual on the eve of a trans-Atlantic general election, that the Government has an enormous advantage in control over the revision of the voters' lists and choice of the returning officers! Watch the building in an American presidential contest of what is called a "Platform." Listen to the pledges, proclaimed with full-throated unction by the candidate as the ideal by which he means to live or die: and remember how many of them were artfully plotted at a campaign Committee, on the assumption that electors are moved by material self-interest alone, so that the problem is so to combine the various appeals to selfishness that those disappointed will have fewer votes than those gratified. Think of the promises, on a scale which all intelligent and informed men know to be impossible of fulfilment, but relied upon to serve for temporary fascination of the masses. To 'lose one's vote' means, in Canadian and American political parlance, to have voted on the losing side; and as it is assumed that no man will do this deliberately—because the losing side will have no spoils with which to reward him—those who have done so are supposed to have guessed wrong. So definite is this conviction that, no matter how dark may be the confidential forecast of its party agents, each side on the eve of the polling invariably proclaims its own triumph to be 'now assured!'

"Another horror of our time is the newspaper press. The public is subject to more than enough intellectual handicaps by reason of the complexity of the issues with which it has to deal. But even on issues it is well able to grasp, its sources of knowledge are often poisoned or withheld. On the daily or weekly newspaper, supplemented now by wireless, the great mass of the voters must depend, not only for advice about how to vote, but for their whole conception of what it is that their votes will determine. To Mr. Chesterton we owe a suggestive epigram about the rare occasions—the moments of tense public excitement—when the Press is paralysed into probity and accuracy. Professor Laski's recent book, *Democracy in Crisis*, gives perhaps the clearest summary statement of the sombre facts up to date. But press corruption had begun long ago. There is a story which seems well authenticated, and which has indeed an unmistakable ring of truth, about Carlyle's prescient vision on the subject three quarters of a century back. One afternoon at a second-hand book-stall his eye caught this title on a cover: *Satan's Invisible World Displayed*. 'That volume, I should suppose,' said Carlyle, 'must be an account of the British newspaper press.' Would he not have returned with sardonic wit to that conjecture if he had known the press of the twentieth century; the gigantic growth in newspaper circulation, together with the methods by which this is so often attained: the rigour of control exercised by advertisers, the artifices ever more ingeniously perfected for colouring the news in the interests of those who buy the advertising space; the hideous portent of a newspaper Trust fraught with even deadlier peril than a beef Trust; the almost complete disappearance of the independent editor ? I think I can hear Carlyle say of it as he said of Puseyism: 'This also, in the cycle of revolving ages, this also was a thing we were to see !' The newspaper like the automobile and the aeroplane, has become an instrument not only of wider benefit but of subtler wickedness. Just as a recent report of the British Prison Commissioners pointed out how the development of science had been fertile of new sorts of crime, even the telephone presenting fresh possibilities of combination to the mind of the resourceful criminal, so we have to take account of the dexterous exploitation of public simplicity, especially by the artist in large type and press pictures. For he who writes the newspaper headlines can afford to be quite careless of him who writes only the editorials. And there is too much point in Mr. Wells's new definition of a free press, as a press free to be bought by anybody.

"Can parliamentary government overcome these disadvantages and survive ? Does it contain within itself the means of its own adequate reform? One does not minimise the gravity of its faults, or forget that in our time they have had a special chance to work mischief. But one remembers how far democratic institutions have reformed themselves in the past; how much finer on the whole parliament has become within a few generations ; and how if it often appears worse rather than better, this is largely because we have become more exacting in our demands upon it: and has not parliament itself taught us thus to demand more ? In truth democratic representative institutions, with all their blemishes, seem alone in this, that they hold the means as well as the impulse of self-repair. Only a complete cynic will suppose that this, though true of parliaments past, is no longer true. And only a complete disregard for history will suggest that a like tendency to self-repair resides in despotism or dictatorship.

"The true judgment is rather that of Mill, sixty years ago: 'There is a capacity,' he wrote, 'for self-denial in the masses of mankind which is never known until it is appealed to in the name of some great idea, some elevated sentiment.' The secure survival of parliament rests just on this —that through such representative institutions alone can the masses of mankind have a real organ of expression. They will not very long be content to be without one."

News and Views

[A Monthly Record of News and Views relating to Schools, Colleges, Universities, and other Literary, Cultural and Academic Institutions and Movements in India.]

Annamalai University

The Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri has accepted the Vice-Chancellorship of the Annamalai University. According to the present arrangement Mr. Sastri will not accept any salary, but will receive a fixed honorarium. The term of office is at present for three years, but it is expected that Mr. Sastri will continue as long as his health permits.

Advisory Board on Education

The Government of India have decided that the following will constitute the Central Advisory Board of Education.

The Board will consist of the Member in charge of the Department of Education, Health and Lands (Chairman); the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India; six nominees of the Government of India, of whom one at least shall be a woman; one member nominated by the Council of State; two members nominated by the Legislative Assembly; three members nominated by the Inter-University Board; and a representative of each local Government, either the Minister in charge of Education (or his deputy), or the Director of Public Instruction (or his deputy). The Secretary of the Board will be appointed by the Government of India. The recommendation of the Board will be purely of an advisory nature and will not be binding on provincial Governments and authorities. The Board will advise on any educational question which may be referred to it by the Government of India or by a local Government and will call for information and advice regarding educational developments of special interest or value to India. The Board will be at liberty to form standing and *ad hoc* committees, and will have power of appointing to those committees persons who are not members of the Board but possess special knowledge. Such committees will include at least two members of the Board. Generally, the membership will not exceed five. The Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, assisted by the secretary of the Board will prepare the agenda and the explanatory memoranda of the Board. The composition of the Board will be announced shortly and the first meeting is expected to be held in October.

Fostering Research in Universities

A warning to students not to be satisfied with humdrum careers which the usual examinations opened to them was uttered by Mr. Justice H. D. C. Reilly, Chief Judge of the Mysore High Court, in his presidential speech at a meeting recently held under the auspices of the Mysore Graduates Welfare Committee. Mr. Reilly put in a strong plea for research, pure and applied, and said that in the years to come when all the millionaires and philanthropists of the present day were completely forgotten, the great scientists would always be remembered and their great discoveries would always remain. Sir C. V. Raman, who addressed the gathering, said that if India was to live as a nation, it was imperative that the national leaders should foster the spirit of research not only in the universities but also in every walk of life. The undue emphasis laid on mere scholarliness and on the benefits of mere absorption of knowledge should yield to an emphasis on the benefits of discovering and radiating knowledge. The intellectual indigestion produced by mere cramming and memorising with a view to "crawling through the gates of a university," he declared, should go. The real purpose of education was to bring out the individual and afford him opportunities for self-expression. Research work gave the individual a chance to think for himself and do something really significant.

Dr. Meghnad Saha

It is understood that Dr. Meghnad Saha, who had been recommended for the award of a Carnegie Research Scholarship for 1935-36 by the Allahabad University Executive Council, has been selected by the Carnegie authorities for one of the scholarships. Dr. Saha wlll probably leave for America in October and will return to India after a year. Dr. Saha was President of the Indian Science Congress of 1934. He has gained an international repute in the world of Physics for his work on neuclear physics and was recently appointed a corresponding member for India of the German Academy of Sciences. On the absence of Dr. Saha from India, it is likely that Pandit Saligram Bhargava, seniormost Reader in the Physics Department, will be appointed as officiating Head of the Physics Department, Allahabad University.

Mysore University

The Financial Secretary to the Mysore Government has recently announced that the grant to the Mysore University, which stood at Rs. 8,75 lakhs will be raised in the next budget to Rs. 9,10 lakhs, in view of the extra expenditure to be incurred by the University on account of the reduction in rates of admission, etc.

Modern History Congress

The First All-India Modern History Congress held its session at Poona on June 8, 9 and 10 last. The Congress was inaugurated by Lord Brabourne, Governor of Bombay, and was presided over by Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan of the University of Allahabad. Sir Shafaat emphasised the need for detailed accounts of some of the smaller States whose contributions to the culture and art of India were considerable.

"Bengal has led the way," observed Dr. Khan, "in every movement and the apathy displayed by scholars of that province in the mediaeval history of that province, is all the more remarkable when we compare the brilliant work done by them in other periods of Indian history."

Bombay's Progress in Education

During the year 1933-34, the progress of education in the Bombay Presidency was steady and in spite of a slight reduction in the number of educational institutions there was an appreciable increase in the number of pupils under instruction. The decrease in the number of institutions was chiefly due to the closure of those primary schools which had a poor attendance. Of the total number of pupils under instruction in recognised institutions 1,026,000 were boys and 307,000 girls, showing an increase of 19,000 and 15,000, respectively, over the previous year's figures. The total expenditure to public instruction was Rs. 3,98,10,000, or an increase of nearly Rs. 17 lakhs over last year's figures. Of the total expenditure 44·2 per cent. was met from provincial revenues, 19·4 per cent. from funds of local bodies, 23·2 per cent. from fees and 13·2 per cent. from miscellaneous sources.

Dealing with university education a Government of Bombay Resolution states that there was an increase of three colleges and 1,124 students. The department of Post-Graduate Teaching and Research, which was inaugurated by the University when it opened the School of Economics and Sociology, was further extended by opening a department of Chemical Technology.

A notable event of the year was the holding of a representative conference at Poona to consider the question of establishing a Maharashtra University. The problem of establishing regional universities was fully discussed. Opinion was against the formation of regional universities with powers of affiliation over external colleges, and for the establishment of unitary and residential universities.

History Teaching Conference

Opening the last History Teaching Conference in Bombay, Dewan Bahadur S. T. Kambli, Minister of Education, Bombay, is reported to have said that there was at present a considerable body of opinion which is profoundly dissatisfied with the standard of history teaching in Universities and secondary schools. He hoped that the deliberations of the conference would help to arrive at some conclusions which would serve to raise the teaching of history to its proper status. It was a truism that the importance of history lay in the key it furnished to the true significance of contemporary events, but in order that history should fulfil this function it was essential that the teaching of history should be based upon unbiassed rather than partisan views. He was glad to say that this was being done with increasing success by some modern historian both in this and other countries.

The Minister stressed the importance of shifting original evidence in preference to accepting the conclusions of contemporary writers. India, he was glad to say, possessed a rich storehouse of material which awaited the scrutiny of enthusiastic teachers and students of history. He referred in this connexion to the voluminous records in political, social and economic information which went by the name of *peshwas daftar* in Poona. History to-day, he said, was no longer a catalogue of dates and names of kings, wars and battles of kingdoms won and lost, but rather a connected story of the growth of nations—their manners, beliefs, modes of life, arts and achievements, their commerce and agriculture ; in short, all that went to make the life of a nation.

Vizagapatam Medical College

It is understood that the Government have decided to retain the Vizagapatam Medical College which is affiliated to the Andhra University. They will make improvements in the college to make it conform to the British medical standard as suggested by All-India Medical Council. The financial implications of the scheme are under examination.

Education in Malabar

Leading citizens of Malabar District under the leadership of Mr. Madhava Raja of Kollengode, have asked the Education Minister to institute the University Groups in Physics, Chemistry, Economics and Malayalam in the Victoria College, Palghat, and also to transfer the Research Department in Malayalam of the Madras University and the Malayalam Department of the Oriental Library to the college. In a memorial of the subject, they contend that this transfer will facilitate research in Kerala culture and art and render it more effective, while it will result in considerable saving to Government in the matter of travelling allowances. They point out that Kerala has no University of her own, and that they are asking only for the same treatment as the Government colleges, at Anantpur, Kumbakonam and Rajmumdry are receiving.

Bombay University

The University of Bombay has established a small research fund to assist investigators in various Educational branches. The Syndicate has been prepared to receive applications from ex-research workers for grants to help them in the work they have undertaken.

The Senate recently considered the ordinances passed by the Syndicate since the last meeting of the Senate in February regarding a new matriculation syllabus. The new syllabus was to come into force from June 1936 and would apply to the examination of 1937 and onwards. According to the new scheme candidates will be examined in the following five heads:— 1. General English, without texts,—one paper. 2. (*a*) One of the modern Indian languages, namely, Marathi, Gujrati, Kannada, Sindhi, Urdu and Hindi, with texts—one paper. *Or* an additional paper in English with texts. (*b*) One of the classical languages, namely, Sanskrit, Pali, Ardha-Magadhi, Avesta-Pahlavi, Arabic, Persian, Latin, Greek and Hebrew with texts—one paper. 3. Mathematics, consisting of Algebra and Geometry—only two papers. 4. History and Geography—one paper. 5. One of the following general sciences, Physics, and Chemistry, Botany and Zoology, Domestic Science, or Physiology and Hygiene—one paper.

Bengal Educational Policy under Review

It is understood that the future educational policy of Bengal is now engaging the attention of the local Government (Ministry of Education).

The defects of the present system, with special reference to primary and secondary education, are being considered from all points of view and the Government, it is understood, propose to adopt a new line of action in order to improve the system. A Government resolution on the subject is expected to be published shortly. Another important matter which is now under consideration by the Government is the holding of an educational week and exhibition in Calcutta during the next cold weather. In this connection it is proposed to organize a conference of school teachers and students from different parts of Bengal when the demonstrations on the best methods of teaching will be given, using charts, graphs and other exhibits for the purpose.

Ourselves

[*I. New Matriculation Regulations.—II. Dr. C. E. Turner on Health Education.—III. Prof. Jaygopal Banerji.—IV. Mr. Nibaranchandra Ray.—V. Jatiya Ayurbijñan Vidyalaya.—VI. University Law College—VII. Our Representatives on the Council of the Imperial Library.—VIII. Ghose Travelling Fellowships for 1935.—IX. Results of the B. A. and B. Sc. Examinations, 1935.—X. Results of the B. Com., L. T., and B. T. Examinations.—XI. Result of the D. P. H. Examination.—XII. Subject for Jubilee Research Prize, 1937.—XIII. University Budget for 1935-36.—XIV. University Rowing Club.—XV. Proposed Rules relating to the Admission, Transfer, Promotion, Leave, Fees, etc., of Pupils in High Schools recognised by Calcutta University.—XVI. Notification.*]

I. NEW MATRICULATION REGULATIONS

The new Matriculation regulations of this University have received the final sanction of the Government of Bengal. For the history of the movement culminating in the regulations, the reader is referred to the March issue of our REVIEW.

It is hoped that under these regulations an average Matriculation student will be required to pay greater attention to history and geography as compulsory subjects besides acquiring an elementary scientific knowledge. Necessary safeguards have been provided to ensure that with the introduction of Vernacular as the medium of instruction and examination the teaching in English would not suffer in any way. It is expected that steps will be taken as early as possible to give effect to these regulations.

* * *

II. DR. C. E. TURNER ON HEALTH EDUCATION

Dr. C. E. Turner, Chairman, Mass. Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Mass., has been appointed a Special Reader of this University to deliver a course of six lectures on the following subjects relating to the "Organisation of Health Education":—

(*i*) Underlying principles in health education.
(*ii*) The construction of a curriculum in health education.
(*iii*) School practices of health promotion.

* * *

III. PROFESSOR JAYGOPAL BANERJEA

We are glad to announce that Professor Jaygopal Banerjea, M.A., has been given an extension of appointment as University Professo of English for a further period of one year from the 1st June, 1935. The decision will, we are sure, give universal satisfaction. The Post-Graduate Department could ill afford to lose the services of a professor who has endeared himself to his colleagues and pupils alike by his vast erudition, deep sympathy and uniform courtesy.

* * *

IV. MR. NIBARANCHANDRA RAY

His Excellency the Chancellor has been pleased to re-nominate Mr. Nibaranchandra Ray, M.A., to be an Ordinary Fellow of this University with effect from the 19th July, 1935.

* * *

V. JĀTIYA ĀYURVIJÑĀN VIDYĀLAYA

We are informed that Government are unable, on the material now before them, to sanction the affiliation of the Jātīya Āyurvijñān Vidyālaya, Calcutta, to the Preliminary Scientific M.B. standard. It will be recalled that the question came up before the Senate on 30th March last when there was prolonged discussion on the subject and very weighty arguments were advanced on the claim of the Vidyālaya to affiliation. Among the stalwarts who championed the cause were Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary, Sir Nilratan Sircar, Sir Upendranath Brahmachari and Dr. Bidhanchandra Roy. The Senate having given its sanction to affiliation, high hopes were raised that Government approval would not be denied. But the reverse has happened.

We understand Government have asked for further information from the University before deciding the question one way or the other. Meanwhile, the authorities of the Vidyālaya will have to continue their teaching on the existing basis, as it will not be possible for Government to reach a decision before the end of the session 1935-36.

* * *

VI. UNIVERSITY LAW COLLEGE

The Governing Body of the University Law College for the year 1935-36 has been constituted as follows :—

The Vice-Chancellor, President, *ex-officio*.	
The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Dwarkanath Mitter, M. A., D. L. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice S. K. Ghose, M.A., I.C.S. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Syed Nasim Ali, M.A., B.L.	Nominated by the Hon. the Chief Justice in consultation with the Vice Chancellor.
The Advocate General, Bengal, *ex-officio*.	
The Senior Government Pleader, High Court, Calcutta, *ex-officio*.	
Birajmohan Majumdar, Esq., M.A., B.L. Sir Z. R. Zahid Suhrawardy, Kt., M.A., B.L., Barrister-at-Law. The Hon'ble Justice Sir Manmathanath Mukerji, Kt., M. A., B.L.	Representatives of the Faculty of Law.
Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary, Kt., C.I.E. C.B E., M.A., LL.D.	Representative of the Incorporated Law Society.
The Legal Remembrancer of the Government of Bengal, *ex-officio*.	
The Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, *ex-officio*.	
The Principal, University Law College, *ex-officio*.	
The Vice-Principal, University Law College, *ex-officio*.	
Dr. S. K. Gupta, M.A., B.L., B. Litt., Ph.D., Barrister-at-Law. Panchanan Ghosh, Esq., M.A., B.L.	Representatives of the staff of the College.

* * *

VII. OUR REPRESENTATIVES ON THE COUNCIL OF THE IMPERIAL LIBRARY

We are glad to announce that Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., Barrister-at-law, M.L.C., and Professor Praphullachandra Mitter, M.A., Ph.D. have been appointed representatives of this University on the Council of the Imperial Library, Calcutta.

* * *

VIII. GHOSE TRAVELLING FELLOWSHIPS FOR 1935

The Ghose Travelling Fellowship for the year 1935 have been awarded on the usual conditions to the undermentioned gentlemen to enable them to prosecute advanced study and research in accordance with the scheme outlined in their applications and noted against their names.

In Literary Subject

Mr. Niharranjan Ray, M.A.	Subject of Study—Library Science and Administration. Place of Study—School of Librarianship, University College, London, and the University Libraries Berlin, Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, Rome, Paris, of Munich, Leyden and Prague.

In Scientific Subject

Prof. Sisirkumar Mitra, D.SC.	Radio Research in general and latest methods of investigating the Ionosphere in particular ; also modern developments in Television. Shall work in the Radio Research Board of England and visit the principal Broadcasting Stations and Radio Research Laboratories of England and Europe.
Dr. Kramadiswar Datta, B.SC., (Cal.), B.SC. (Rangoon), D.SC	To complete his study and research work on the use of bamboos as reinforcement in concrete structures under Prof. Graf, Engineering University, Stuttgart, Germany.

An additional Fellowship in Arts of the value of Rs. 2,200, tenable for six months, has been awarded to Dr. S. K. Das, M.A., PH.D., to enable him to carry on his research work on Cynewulf and the Cynewulf Canon, and an additional Fellowship in Science of the value of Rs. 2,200, tenable for six months, has been awarded to Mr. Bhabeschandra Mukherjee, M.SC. (Ghose Travelling Fellow for last year), to complete his training in Communication Engineering.

We offer our hearty congratulations to the worthy recipients of the Fellowships. We especially rejoice on the selection of Mr. Niharranjan Ray who has been connected with the management of the REVIEW for more than a couple of years. Mr. Ray is a promising young man who has already distinguished himself by his researches in Ancient Indian History and we have every reason to believe he will be able to do justice to the task he has set to himself.

* * *

IX. RESULTS OF THE B.A. AND B.SC. EXAMINATIONS, 1935

The results of the B.A. and B.Sc. Examinations, 1935, are reported as follows :—

B. A. Examination, 1935

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 3,626 (including those registered to appear in one and two subjects only), of whom 102 were absent and 11 were transferred to other centres and 1 was disallowed. The number of candidates who actually sat for the examination in all subjects was 3,520, of whom 7 were expelled, 1,956 were successful and 1,557 failed. Of the successful candidates 1,625 were placed on the Pass List and 331 on the Honours List. Of the candidates in the Honours List 23 were placed in the First Class and 308 in the Second. Of the candidates in the Pass List 106 passed with Distinction.

The number of candidates who have passed in one subject only is 7 and in two subjects 19.

The percentage of passes is 55·5.

The percentage of passes was 61·1 in 1934.

B. Sc. Examination, 1935

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 945 (including those registered to appear in one subject only), of whom 39 were absent and three were transferred to other centres and none were disallowed. The number of candidates who actually sat for the examination in all subjects was 906, of whom 3 were expelled, 580 were successful and 323 failed. Of the successful candidates 506 were placed in the Pass List and 74 on the Honours List. Of the candidates in the Honours List 8 were placed in the First Class and 66 in the Second. Of the candidates in the Pass List 118 passed with Distinction.

The number of candidates who have passed in one subject only is 1.

The percentage of passes is 64·2.

The percentage of passes was 57·7 in 1934.

* * *

X. RESULTS OF B. COM., L. T. AND B. T. EXAMINATIONS, 1935

The results of the last B.COM., L.T. and B.T. Examinations have been reported as follows :—

B. Com. Examination

The number of candidates registered for the B.Com. Examination, 1935 was 263, of whom 7 were absent.

The number of candidates who actually sat for the examination was 256.

The number of candidates who passed the examination was 134, of whom 1 passed in the First Division.

One candidate appeared in one subject only and he passed.

The percentage of passes is 52·3.

The percentage of passes in 1934 was 47·5.

L. T. Examination

The number of candidates registered for the L. T. Examination was 16, of whom 15 passed and 1 failed.

Of the successful candidates 6 passed in the First Division and 9 in the Second Division.

The percentage of passes is 93·7.

The percentage of passes was 100 in 1934.

B. T. Examination

The number of candidates registered for the B. T. Examination was 155, of whom 3 were absent, 80 passed and 72 failed.

Of the successful candidates 11 passed in the First Division and 61 in the Second Division.

Of the successful candidates 8 have passed the Theoretical portion of the Examination this year and they are declared to have passed the B. T. Examination, having previously passed the Practical portion of the Examination.

The percentage of passes in 52·6.

The percentage of passes was 70 in 1934.

* * *

XI. RESULT OF THE D.P.H. EXAMINATION, PART II, 1935

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 12, of whom 7 passed, 4 failed and 1 was absent.

* * *

XII. SUBJECTS FOR JUBILEE RESEARCH PRIZE, 1937.

The following subjects have been selected for the Jubilee Research Prize in Arts and Science for the year 1937 :—

ARTS

The Possibility of adopting a Uniform Script (Roman or otherwise) for Indian Languages.

Or

An Investigation into the Nature of Comedy as inferred from the Study of standard European Comedies.

SCIENCE

The Possiblities of Electrical Power in Bengal.

Or

The Mineral Contents of Indian Vegetables.

* * *

XIII. UNIVERSITY BUDGET FOR 1935-36

The Budget Estimates of the Calcutta University for the year 1935-36 were presented before the Senate by Mr. Ramaprasad Mookerjee, President, Board of Accounts, on the 29th June last and were passed without a division. While it is remarkable that the last year has been one of progress for the University in almost every department of its activity, the prospects of the current year have to be regarded as gloomy. Unfortunately, this to a very large extent will be due to the existing financial arrangement between the Government and the University. Under the terms of the arrangement the Government makes an annual grant of Rs. 3,60,000 to the University on condition that whenever the University Fee Fund would exceed Rs. 11,72,000, the recurring grant would be reduced by half the surplus of the income over that amount. This arrangement, however agreeable it might have been to either party at the time when it was made, has proved a stumbling-block to the University, for it precludes it from giving effect to the many schemes of reform and expansion which it has undertaken since, and which the Government themselves have approved. True, there has been a substantial increase in the fee-income of the University during the closing year but this is counterbalanced by a corresponding enhancement of expenditure owing to its growing needs and liabilities. The position of the Fee and Post-Graduate Teaching Funds, as disclosed by the Budget Estimates, is such that in the current year there will be a deficit which will have to be made up by drawing upon the opening balance. In these circumstances and in view of the fact that Government are not in the same financial difficulty as they were faced with at the time when the existing arrangement was arrived at, it would be a great help to the University if Government would be reasonable enough to review the position, which has considerably changed since. Question of additional grant apart, the University, as the Vice-Chancellor pointed out, would be satisfied with the promised grant of Rs. 3,60,000 by the Government provided that the entire amount of this grant was made available to it. The University, as the readers of the REVIEW are aware, is in correspondence with Government on this subject. A decision favourable to the University is earnestly to be desired, and the sooner it is reached, the better.

* * *

XIV. UNIVERSITY ROWING CLUB

Those who attended the last Annual Regatta of the University Rowing Club at the Dhakuria Club must have been impressed by the enthusiasm and ordered discipline of the members of the Club, as well as by the remarkable progress the Club has made during the short span of two years since its transfer to the present site. It has already become a live institution and is slowly and steadily attracting people into its fold. Much of it is due to the untiring efforts of Professor Syamlal Mukherjee, Secretary of the Club, who took the opportunity to meet certain criticisms which of late have appeared in the press. Some of his remarks may be quoted here for the enlightenment of those who are interested in the Club.

> " It has been contended," said Professor Mukherjee, " that the Lake is far away from the northern quarter where students mostly live. But the Club did not thrive well on the canal where it was for about 10 years, and that there is hope for its improvement here is shown by the fact that after taking 150 members in course of 2 months only, of whom about 50 are coming from the northern quarter the admission had to be stopped for want of boats. Moreover there are some costly sports which are not meant for all, rowing being one of these.
>
> " It has also been said that the money had better been spent in cheaper sports. In reply to this I merely quote the following lines from the *New York American* of the 24th March, 1933 :—
>
> " ' Eight men that had rowed in the Harvard Crew in 1883, 50 years before, all rowed together (to celebrate their 50th reunion) and all were past 70 years of age and their 1883 Coxswain steered them. All of them were successful business and professional men.'
>
> " Further it says, 'A University that teaches men to take care of themselves, live long and return 50 years after graduation in good physical condition is more valuable than one that merely teaches boys to win races and football games.'

> "We now believe that the University is soon going to have in this club an institution where professors will come in closer touch with students and teach them not from the pages of books but by love and example of their personal character; and a boy besides being strengthened in limb, health, and mind will have trained himself to submit to discipline, for a little inadvertence on his part will involve not only serious damage to the costly boats but also loss of lives in water perhaps. Here he wll have learnt to accept discomfort cheerfully, to keep cool in adverse circumstances and to develop his power of endurance to the full strength.
>
> "His absolute subordination of the individual self to the collective good of the crew, his duty and responsibility not only to the members of his own college and University but to those of other clubs, teach him to be unselfish and patriotic. Thus the *esprit de corps* which the members cultivate here, the friendship that knits them together remain with them wherever they may be. These are only a few of the results in a generation accused of foppery and idle luxury which no University curriculum could ever obtain within the walls.

* * *

XV. PROPOSED RULES RELATING TO THE ADMISSION, TRANSFER, PROMOTION, LEAVE, FEES, ETC., OF PUPILS IN HIGH SCHOOLS RECOGNISED BY THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

The Syndicate have recently adopted a set of rules and regulations regarding admission, transfer, promotion, leave, fees, etc., of pupils in high schools affiliated to and recognised by the University for the guidance of school authorities. These rules which are printed below have been, in the first instance, forwarded to the Director of Public Instruction for approval. If Government accept them, a comprehensive circular based on the rules adopted will be issued by the University to all high schools. It is hoped that these rules will facilitate the administration of the schools to a great extent and provide a definite guidance to school authorities.

A copy of the rules has also been forwarded to the Director of Public Instruction, Assam, for information with the request that the Syndicate may be favoured with his opinion regarding their application to schools in Assam.

GENERAL

1. These rules apply to all High Schools recognised by the University of Calcutta as competent to present pupils for its Matriculation Examination.

2. Supplementary Rules, not inconsistent with these Rules, for High Schools either maintained or aided by Government are issued by the Education Departments of Bengal.

3. A High School ordinarily consists of eight classes, the lowest being Class III and the highest Class X.

4. The School year corresponds with the calendar year and consists of three terms—

First term—from the beginning of January until the end of the summer vacation.

Second term—from the end of the summer vacation until the end of the Durga Pujah vacation.

Third term—from the end of the Durga Pujah vacation until the end of December.

Note.—The functions of the Inspector of Schools and of the Head Master referred to in these rules shall be exercised respectively by the Inspectress of Schools and the Head Mistress in the case of girls' schools.

ADMISSION

5. Conditions of first admission—

(*i*) No pupil may ordinarily be admitted to Class III or any higher class of a school who has not attained the age of 7 years.

(*ii*) No pupil shall be admitted into a school for the first time unless an application for his admission is made by his parent or guardian. This application shall be in the form prescribed in Appendix A.

(*iii*) A pupil may be admitted into a school for the first time only during the first six weeks of the school year. In special circumstances this rule may be relaxed by the Head Master who shall keep a record of such cases which will be available for inspection.

6. Conditions of admission on transfer from another High School—

(*i*) No pupil who has attended a recognised school shall be admitted to another except on production of a transfer certificate in the form prescribed in Appendix B.

(*ii*) Ordinarily a pupil may only be admitted on transfer during the first six weeks of the school year, but this rule may be relaxed by the Head Master in special circumstances such as ill-health, change of residence, or abolition or closing of the former school.

7. Conditions of admission on transfer from a Middle School.

(*i*) No pupil who has attended a recognised Middle School shall be admitted to a High School except on production of a transfer certificate in the form prescribed in Appendix C.

(*ii*) Ordinarily a pupil may only be admitted on transfer during the first six weeks of the school year, but this rule may be relaxed by the Head Master in special circumstances such as ill-health, change of residence, or abolition or closing of the former school.

(*iii*) A pupil admitted to a High School on transfer from a Middle School may be required to undergo an admission test by the Head Master of the High School [*vide* Rule 10 (*ii*)].

8. Conditions of admission on transfer from a Primery School—

The conditions of admission of pupils who come on transfer from a recognised Primary School are the same as those for admission on transfer from a Middle School. Pupils who have passed the Primary Final Examination of the Education Depaartment are eligible for admission to Class V of a High School.

9. Conditions of re-admission—

(*i*) A pupil whose name has been removed from the rolls of a school for failure to pay fees may be re-admitted, at the discretion of the Head Master, provided that the pupil makes payment of all arrear fees and other dues as required under Rules 23, 25, 26 and 28.

(*ii*) A pupil whose name has been removed from the rolls of a school under Rule 23 for absence without leave may be re-admitted at the discretion of the Head Master, provided that the pupil produces a satisfactory explanation signed or countersigned by his parent or guardian and makes payment of all arrear fees and other dues as required under Rules 23, 25, 26 and 28.

(*iii*) A pupil who has failed in the Matriculation Examination, or who after paying his examination fees has been prevented from appearing at the examination may be re-admitted to the school in which he was studying if he applies for admission before the middle of July in the year in which the examination was held. For such pupils the school year shall be deemed to start from the beginning of July and they shall not be required to pay any admission fee.

(*iv*) A pupil who temporarily suspends his studies and leaves the school with due notice on account of ill-health or other reason deemed satisfactory by the Head Master may be re-admitted on payment of the usual admission fee.

(*v*) A pupil who has been rusticated from a school may be re-admitted to the same school after the expiry of the period of rustication, but must pay the usual admission fee.

(*vi*) A pupil who has been expelled from a school may not be re-admitted to the same school.

(*vii*) A pupil may, subject to the foregoing conditions, be re-admitted to a school at any time.

10. Admission Test—

(*i*) A pupil applying for admission to a recognised school for the first time or from a Primary school may be subjected to a test of his abilities and he shall be placed in the class for which he is found fit.

(*ii*) A similar test may, at the discretion of the Head Master, be applied to pupils admitted on transfer from a Middle School, or re-admitted to a school under Rule 9, provided that pupils re-admitted under sub-sections (*i*) and (*ii*) of that rule shall in no case be placed in a class higher than that in which they were reading before they left the school.

(*iii*) A pupil admitted into a school with a transfer certificate from another high school may not be required to undergo an admission test but if admitted, he shall be placed in the class equivalent to that in which he was reading in his former school or in the next higher class if the transfer certificate states that he has passed the examination for the promotion to that class.

11. The authorities of non-denominational schools shall see that facilities are given for the admission of pupils of all communities.

TRANSFER OF PUPILS

12. A pupil who leaves a recognised High School should obtain a transfer certificate as without it he will be unable to gain admission to another recognised High School.

13. A transfer certificate is issued by the Head Master of a school, and application for it should be made by the parent or guardian of the pupil concerned, in writing. In the case of a school which has ceased to exist without issuing transfer certificates to its pupils, application should be made to the Inspector of Schools.

14. Copies of all transfer certificates should be kept.

15. (*i*) A fee of Rs. 2 shall be charged for a transfer certificate.

(*ii*) A duplicate transfer certificate (which should be marked 'Duplicate') may be issued on payment of a fee of Rs. 2.

16. (*i*) The authority to whom an application for a transfer certificate is properly made must issue the certificate within three days or state in writing to the applicant his reasons for refusing the certificate

(*ii*) A transfer certificate for which application has been properly made may only be withheld for the following reasons :—

(*a*) if the school fees or other dues of the pupil have not been paid;
(*b*) if the pupil is rusticated from the school;
(*c*) if the pupil leaves the school in order to avoid punishment.

(*iii*) If a pupil is expelled from a school, he may be granted a transfer certificate but the fact of his expulsion shall be clearly noted on the certificate. Such a pupil may not be re-admitted to the school at any time, nor may he be admitted to any other school at any time, nor may he be admitted to any other school until the expiry of a period of one year from the date of the expulsion order and then only witht he express permission of the Inspector of Schools (who shall, before granting the permission, obtain and consider a report from the Head Master of the former school).

17. (*i*) In cases covered by Rule 16 (*ii*) (*a*) the transfer certificate shall be issued, upon proper application being made when the school fees and other dues are paid, but if payment is not made within one month of the date on which the pupil's name is removed from the rolls of the school, a fee of Rs. 2 will be charged, which will be increased to Rs. 2. Rs. 4 or Rs. 6 if the one month extends to three months or six months respectively. If the payment of school fees and other dues is made after the expiry of six months, a fee of Rs. 10 will be charged for the transfer certificate.

(*ii*) In cases covered by Rule 16 (*ii*) (*b*) the transfer certificate shall be issued, upon proper application being made after the expiry of the period of rustication.

(*iii*) In cases covered by Rule 16 (*ii*) (*c*) the transfer certificate shall be issued, upon proper application being made, after the pupil has subjected himself to the punishment, if any, inflicted by the Head Master or the school authorities as the case may be. If the punishment inflicted is rustication, the case should come under Rule 17 (*ii*).

18. If a transfer certificate is refused an appeal shall lie to the Inspector of schools.

PROMOTIONS

19. (*i*) The promotion of pupils from one class to the next higher class shall be made by the Head Master at the end of the school year before the school is closed for Christmas holidays, and shall be determined mainly by the results of an examination called the "Annual Examination" to be held at that time.

(*ii*) All answer-books and records on the basis of which promotions are made shall be preserved for at least three months after the annual examination.

20. The Head Master of every school shall for the purpose of selecting candidates for the Matriculation Examination hold annually a "Test Examination" of pupils in Class X of his school and of such other candidates as may be directed either by the Inspector or by the University to appear at the examination.

21. Ordinarily a boy should not be allowed to remain in the same class in the same school for more than two years.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

22. (*i*) Pupils absenting themselves from school should obtain leave of absence.

(*ii*) Application for such leave should be submitted in writing within seven days from the first day's absence, and should be signed or countersigned by the parent or guardian of the pupil or, in the case of a hostel boarder by the Superintendent of the hostel.

(*iii*) Formal leave of absence shall be granted by the Head Master when the reasons for absence are considered satisfactory.

23. (*i*) The penalty for absence without leave shall ordinarily be a fine not exceeding one anna per day.

(*ii*) When a Head Master has reason to suspect concerted absence without leave on the part of pupils, he may deal with their cases by removing their names from the school rolls on or after the third day of absence, but his action is subject to confirmation by the Managing Committee.

(*iii*) If a pupil has been absent without leave for more than 15 consecutive days, the Head Master shall at the end of 15 days remove his name from the rolls of the school, provided that a warning is given to the parent or guardian of the pupil at least five days before such action is due.

(*iv*) A pupil whose name is removed from the school roll for absence without leave is liable to pay fees for the period of his absence, as well as the fines prescribed in sub-section (*i*) of this rule.

FEES

24. The following fees are charged from pupils of a school :—

(*i*) Admission fees.
(*ii*) Tuition fees.
(*iii*) Miscellaneous fees.
(*iv*) Transfer fees.

25. *Admission fees.*

A pupil on admission to a school either

(*i*) for the first time, or
(*ii*) on transfer from another school, or
(*iii*) under the provision of Rule 9 (*i*), (*ii*), (*iv*) and (*v*) shall pay an admission fee equal to the monthly tuition fee of the class to which he is admitted.

26. *Tuition fees.*

(*a*) The Managing Committee of a school shall determine the amounts of tuition fees to be paid by pupils of each class of the school, subject to the following minima :—

Class.	Fee.		
	Rs.	As.	Ps.
X and IX	3	0	0
VIII and VII	2	8	0
VI and V	2	0	0
IV and III	1	8	0

(*b*) A pupil who is admitted to a school for the first time shall pay tuition fees from the beginning of the school year.

(*c*) A pupil who is admitted to a school on transfer from another school shall pay tuition fees in arrear for the period reckoned from

(*i*) the month succeeding that in which he paid fees to his former school, or
(*ii*) the beginning of the school year whichever is shorter.

(*d*) A pupil who is re-admitted to a school under Rule 9 (*i*) or (*ii*) shall pay arrear tuition fees for the period reckoned from

(*i*) the month in which the pupil's name was removed from the rolls of a school, or
(*ii*) the beginning of the school year whichever is shorter.

(*e*) A pupil who is re-admitted to a school under Rule 9 (*iv*) shall not be required to pay arrear tuition fees.

(*f*) A pupil who is re-admitted to a school after rustication must pay arrear fees for the period of his rustication or for the period reckoned from the beginning of the school year, whichever is shorter.

27. *Miscellaneous fees.*

The Managing Committee of a school shall determine the nature and amounts of other fees to be paid by pupils.

28. *Date of payment of fees.*

(*i*) (*a*) Tuition fees are payable monthly in advance for each month or part of a month in which the pupil's name is on the roll of the school.

(*b*) The last date for payment of such fees is the 15th of the month. If this day is a holiday, the last day for payment shall be the last working day of the school preceding such a holiday.

(*c*) If the first 15 days of any month fall within a vacation the dues for that month shall be paid on or before the day on which the school closes for the vacation.

(*ii*) (*a*) Miscellaneous fees are payable yearly in advance for each year or part of a year in which the pupil's name is on the roll of the school.

(*b*) The date of payment of such fees shall be determined by the Head Master of the school.

(*iii*) (*a*) If tuition or other fees, together with fines, if any, are not paid by the due dates a fine not exceeding one anna per day may be levied.

(*b*) If tuition fees, including fines, be not paid on or before the last working day of the month for which the fees are due, the pupil's name shall be liable to be removed from the roll of the school.

(*iv*) The application of a pupil for permission to appear at the Matriculation Examination of the University shall not be forwarded to the Controller of Examinations until he has paid all sums due to the school in which he has been reading, including fees up to the end of March.

MISCELLANEOUS

29. The Managing Committee of a school may consistently with its financial resources grant concessions in the matter of fees to its pupils in suitable cases.

Notwithstanding anything contained in Rule 26, the authorities of a High School may, with the previous permission of the University, run the school without charging any fees, provided its income from endowments is sufficient to cover the normal expenditure of the school.

30. *False documents, etc.*

If a pupil is found to have produced a false document or to have made a false statement as to his attendance at any school, his name shall be reported by the Head Master through the Managing Committee to the Inspector of Schools for such disciplinary action as he thinks fit.

31. *Transgression and evasion of Rules.*

Wilful transgression or attempted evasion of these rules shall render a school liable to withdrawal of recognition.

32. *Disputes.*

Questions arising with regard to the interpretation of these rules shall be referred to the University through the Divisional Inspector of Schools.

33. *Authority of the Syndicate.*

Nothing in these rules shall in any way affect the authority of the Syndicate to deal with any special cases and pass such orders as may be deemed appropriate by them.

APPENDIX A.

(Form of Application for Admission to a Recognised School.)

1. Boy's name..
2. Father's name, occupation and address..
....
3. Guardian's name, occupation and address..
4. With whom the boy lives..
5. Date of birth...
6. Age on the date of application (to be recorded in years and completed months, calculated according to the English method)..

I solemnly declare that the above particulars about...
.... are true and correct, and that he has not previously read in any school.

Signature of Father or Guardian.

Date.......................

Note.—The Head Master may, at his direction, require that the application should be attested by some responsible person known to him.

APPENDIX B.

(Form of Transfer Certificate for High Schools.)

Certified that..................... son of
.... an inhabitant of.........
in the district.............., left the......
school on........... His age at the date
....................according to the Admission Register, was......... years, ...
months, ...days. He was reading in the...........Class and ....* passed the annual examination for promotion to the........... Class. All sums due by him have been paid, *viz.*, fees and fines up to......... (date).

Character.........

Reasons for leaving—

(*i*) Change of residence.
(*ii*) Ill-health.
(*iii*) Abolition or closing of the school.
(*iv*) Expulsion.
(*v*) Any other reason,

Head Master.

Date..................
....School
P. O. ....
District...........................

---

* Enter here " had " or " had not " as the case may be.

APPENDIX C.

(Form of Transfer Certificate for Middle and Primary Schools.)

Certified that............................ son of
.... an inhabitant of village
..............................in thana.................. , and in sub-division
.... of the district of............, left the
.... * school on........... His age

(1) at the date, according to the admission register was
(2) on that date is believed to have been ....

years, ... months,............ days. He was reading in the......... Class and......................................† passed the annual examination for promotion to the.................. Class. All sums due by him have been paid, *viz.*, fees and fines up to............... .... (date).

Character...............
Reasons for leaving—
(*i*) Change of residence.
(*ii*) Ill-health.
(*iii*) Abolition or closing of the school.
(*iv*) Expulsion.
(*v*) Any other reason.
Date.........

(1) *Head Master.*
(2) *Head Teacher.*

....School.
Village...................
P. O. ....
District...............

---

* Enter here " middle" or " Primary" as the case may be.
† Enter here " had " or " had not " as the case may be.
Not necessary for Primary Schools,
(1) In case of middle Schools.
(2) In case of Primary Schools.

* * *

XVI. NOTIFICATION

Public Service Commission, India.

Applications are invited for the following posts in Sind:

(1) *Agricultural Engineer*—Pay Rs. 300-20-420-(Efficiency Bar)-30-660-(Efficiency Bar)-40-900 *plus* overseas pay Rs. 300 per mensem, if admissible. Candidates must possess a Honours Degree or Diploma in Mechanical or Agricultural Engineering of an English, Scottish, Irish or Indian University or College with practical administrative experience and must have considerable practical experience in workshop organisation and management, design and improvement of agricultural implements and in engineering problems connected with irrigated agriculture. Preference to candidates with practical experience of mechanical cultivation and of working of power plant and machinery. Age not more than 40 years.

2. *Assistant Agricultural Engineer*—Pay Rs. 170-10-250-(Efficiency Bar)-15-400-(Efficiency Bar)-20-500. Candidates must be graduates in Science or Agriculture of a recognised University in India or elsewhere, should have sound practical knowledge of form machinery, and experience in care and upkeep of steam and oil engines, agricultural machinery, etc. Age not more than 30 years.

3. *Two Deputy Chief Agricultural Officers*—Pay Rs. 300-20-420-(Efficiency Bar)-30-660-(Efficiency Bar)-40-900. Candidates must have a University degree in Agriculture. Preference to candidates possessing administrative experience and ability in connection with agricultural development especially in irrigated tracts. Age not more than 35 years approximately.

Posts temporary for a period of five years on usual contract. Probation one year. Starting pay according to experience and qualifications. Government servants eligible to apply if permitted by their Departments. Canvassing, in any form, will disqualify a candidate. Last date of receipt of applications 15th July, 1935. Prescribed application forms and further particulars may be obtained from the Secretary, Public Service Commission, Simla. Applicants for forms must mention the name of the post.

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW
AUGUST, 1935

ANGLO-IRISH RELATIONS SINCE THE 1921 TREATY

ST. NIHAL SINGH.

NOT quite fourteen years have elapsed since the "Articles of Agreement for a Treaty between Great Britain and Ireland" were ratified by the parliaments of the two nations. Many of the issues that were then causing friction between the two countries have already been adjusted. The prodigious effort put into the reconciling of the conflicting points of view has, to a large extent, been justified by the way it has helped to shape subsequent events.

Seldom was greater ingenuity shown in inventing formulas to bridge gulfs created by divergence of outlook, aspiration and interest. Under the formal, smooth phraseology lay, however, much matter of an explosive character. The members of the British and Irish delegations[1] were much too intelligent to be oblivious of its presence or ignorant of its potentiality for damage. Critics, of whom they had a legion on either side of the Irish Sea, accused them of entertaining mental reservations on many points and even of having subscribed their names to the pact on December 6, 1921, with their tongues in their cheeks. It would perhaps be more charitable to say that they hoped for the best, trusting to time and to growing goodwill to solve the difficulties over which they had temporised.

---

[1] These Delegates were, for Britain, Mr. D. Lloyd George; Mr. (afterwards Sir) Austen Chamberlain ; Lord Birkenhead ; Mr. Winston S. Churchill ; Mr. L. Worthington Evans; Sir Hamer Greenwood and Sir Gordon Hewart. The Irish delegates were, Mr. Art. O Briobhtha (Arthur Griffith) ; Michael O'Coileain (Michael Collins); Riobard Bartun; Eudhmonn S. O'Dugain; and Seorsa Ghabhain Ui Dhubhthaigh.

Among the provisions that produced a sense of unreality in students of constitutional history were those relating to an "All-Ireland Parliament." Numbered 11 to 15, these articles read as if there was at least a sporting chance for the coming together, for the administration of affairs of common concern, of "Northern Ireland" and "Southern Ireland"[1] the two unequal portions into which Ireland had been divided by the Government of Ireland Act of 1920. There is warrant for believing that all efforts directed to that end had already failed.

Northern Ireland had not been assigned a place among the negotiators of the Treaty. Insistence upon according her representation would have given umbrage to the Irish delegates, who, refusing to recognize the partition effected by the Act of 1920, claimed to speak for the whole Island and would undoubtedly have gone back to Dublin had they been crossed in that matter. Even if they had not done so, the presence of a third party, determined to maintain its separate existence no matter at what cost, would have complicated the already onerous work of effecting a compromise.

In the absence of the " Northern Irish " from the conference, their interests, as they conceived them, did not seem to suffer. The British delegates, without an exception, were members of the Government responsible for the placing of the " Partition Act " on the statute book and its expeditious application to the only portion of the island that would have it. Some of these delegates had been open and uncompromising partisans of Ulster. One of them (Lord Birkenhead, erstwhile Mr. F. E. Smith) had earned the sobriquet of " Galloper Smith " because of the furious campaign he had conducted in support of Sir Edward (later Lord) Carson's defiance of the Home Rule Act of 1914, passed at the instance of a Government headed by Mr. H. H. Asquith (afterwards the Earl of Asquith and Oxford) of which Mr. Lloyd George was an important member. They could well be trusted to voice Northern Ireland's aspirations and to echo her determination. They did not irrevocably commit themselves to any terms affecting Ulster until they had previously made sure that those terms would be acceptable to Sir James Craig (later Lord Craigavon)—then the Prime Minister of Northern Ireland—and his associates.[1]

---

[1] By " Northern Ireland " was meant the six counties in the north-east of the island, which the Act of 1920 had separated from the rest of Ireland and set up as an administrative entity. The term, though having statutory sanction, was inexact, as Donegal, the north-western county, was excluded, forming, as it did, a part of "Southern Ireland"—another faulty designation. " Ulster," though commonly employed, was equally misleading, inasmuch as the ancient division of the island given that name covered a far larger area than the six north-eastern counties. In this article "Northern Ireland" and "Southern Ireland" are employed in the statutory sense, while "Ulster" is used in the popular connotation.

Seemingly the articles applicable to both parts of the island contrived to afford satisfaction, at one and the same time, to the "Southern Irish," who insisted upon Irish unity, and the Ulster-men, who insisted upon union, but union with London that implied a divorce from Dublin. This miracle was achieved by providing that:

(*a*) For one month after the ratification of the Treaty, the Parliament and Government of the Irish Free State were not to exercise any authority over Northern Ireland. This Parliament was the Dail Eireann, which had begun its existence in defiance of Britain and had set up a Government, with Mr. Eamonn de Valera as the President of the Council of Ministers.

(*b*) During that period " the provisions of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920," relating to Northern Ireland were to " remain in full force and effect."

(*c*) No elections were to be held " for the return of members to serve in the Parliament of the Irish Free State for constituencies in Northern Ireland" unless a resolution was passed by both Houses of the Parliament of Northern Ireland in favour of holding such elections before the expiry of that month.

(*d*) The Parliament of Northern Ireland was given the option of retaining its separate existence by presenting, during that period, an address to His Majesty praying " that the powers of the Parliament and Government of the Irish Free State shall no longer extend to Northern Ireland, and the provisions of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920 (including those relating to the Council of Ireland) shall so far as they relate to Northern Ireland, continue to be of full force and effect......"

---

[1] Complaint was made that Ulster was not informed that her destiny was being affected until " a bold cut-and-dried scheme by which Ulster was expected to come into an All-Ireland Parliament " was handed to her. The words in quotation marks were used by one of the Northern Irish Members of Parliament in the House of Commons.—Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, Vol. 149, No. 1, Cols. 55-56.

The phraseology used appeared to imply that the authority of the Irish Free State had extended over Northern Ireland. This suggestion was a legal fiction—pure and simple.

The Prime Minister (Mr. David Lloyd George, the head of the British delegation), gave, in the House of Commons, an ingenious explanation respecting these provisions. While he and his colleagues had refused to permit Ulster to be coerced into union with the rest of Ireland, he said, they had endeavoured "to persuade Ulster to come into an All-Ireland Parliament." Surely Ulster was "not above being argued with." He continued:

> "I have heard.........my Right Hon. Friend Lord Carson set forward as the ultimate ideal the unity of Ireland. I have never heard an Ulster leader challenge the proposition that it was an ultimate ideal... If that be the ultimate ideal, was it unfair to Ulster to recommend that they should consider the question? That is all we have done...Ulster has her option to join an All-Ireland Parliament or to remain exactly as she is." [1]

It is true that Northern Ireland, at that time, was only in an embryonic stage. Her principal representative in the House of Commons—Captain Charles Curtis Craig (Antrim, South)—had made that fact abundantly plain. Speaking some five weeks prior to the signing of the Treaty, he had complained that though a year had elapsed since the passage of the Government of Ireland Bill the "Ulster Parliament" was being "conducted with money borrowed from the bank." The Treasury had not been set up. He continued:

> "The Parliament has the power to pass legislation, and, in fact, has passed it. Two or three Acts have already received the Royal Assent, and if these and other Acts which may be passed require executive or administrative action, that action cannot be taken because the powers have not been handed over. In the matter of the police, on which, as everybody knows, the peace and order of the country depend, the matter is in the same condition. The police in Belfast are under the control of an alien institution, namely, Dublin Castle....The powers which the Minister of Agriculture ought to have have never been handed over to him." [2]

[1] Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, Vol. 149, No. 1. Col. 39.

[2] Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, Vol. 147, No. 133. Cols. 1390-91.

This state, still in the formative period, was offered certain advantages if she joined the All-Ireland Parliament. Her citizens would not only have to pay less in the form of taxation, but they would, in addition, enjoy fiscal autonomy.

The principal spokesman for Ulster in the House of Commons spoke of this offer as a " bribe." In so doing he reflected the temper of the men in power in the new state. For them membership of a common Irish legislature was not an open issue. Of this fact the British and Irish delegates must have been cognizant, at the time they subscribed their names to the Treaty. All arguments advanced—all pleas made—in the effort to dislodge Sir James Craig and his associates from their position of isolation from Southern Ireland failed. The provisions relating to an All-Ireland Parliament must, therefore, have been designed to "save the face" of the Irish negotiators.

The representatives of Northern Ireland exercised their option within the prescribed period as they were fully expected to do. The partition effected by the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, was thereby solidified and the achievement of Irish unity, upon which the Irish majority built their hopes, was even more distant than it had been before.

Following the exercise of such option, a commission was to be set up for adjusting the frontiers of the two states. A provision to that effect had been inserted in the Treaty, it is believed at the instance of the Irish delegates, who expected to gain large slices of valuable territory at the expense of Northern Ireland.

That view appears to have been shared by Mr. Lloyd George, who stated in the House of Commons in the course of a debate over the motion for the ratification of the Treaty that there could be no doubt that the majority of inhabitants in the two counties at the moment incorporated in Ulster preferred to be with their southern neighbours. If Ulster elected to remain a separate entity, she could keep these people only by means of coercion upon her part. Such action would, however, create "trouble at " her door—trouble that would complicate her whole machinery and take her mind away from constructive work. She could not build up a good government so long as she had trouble of that sort on her own threshold—nay, inside her door.[1]

---

[1] Parliamentary Debates in the House of Commons, Vol. 149, No. 1. Col. 40. The two counties that Mr. Lloyd George had in mind were believed to be Tyrone and Fermanagh.

The Prime Minister urged the readjustment of boundaries in a manner that would make the population of Northern Ireland homogeneous. In effecting such a change the geographical and economic considerations had to be borne in mind, as had been stipulated in the Treaty.

As years sped by and no action was taken by the Free State, even though it expected to benefit from boundary adjustment, to convoke article 12 of this instrument, the hope was formed that such adjustment would be made through representatives of both parts of Ireland sitting at a round-table and, by mutual give and take, coming to some sort of a settlement. Pressure was, however, being brought to bear upon the Government of that State, headed by Liam T. Mac Cosgair (William T. Cosgrave) by men of his way of political thinking incorporated in Ulster, to move in the matter. They were, at the same time, being twitted by Mr. de Valera and his partisans, who seemed to be making a rapid headway in the constituencies. No alternative was thus left to them but to ask His Majesty's Government to implement that stipulation in the Treaty.

A Boundary Commission was set up in the autumn of 1924. The Irish Free State appointed to it Dr. Eoin (John) MacNeill, the Minister for Education and a member of the Executive Council, regarded as an apostle of nationalism and an "Elder Statesman." Northern Ireland nominated Mr. J. R. Fisher. Britain appointed Mr. Justice Feetham of South Africa to act as Chairman and the choice was almost universally acclaimed.

The commission had virtually completed its work when Dr. MacNeill tendered his resignation, following the publication in the MORNING POST *(London)* of a forecast of the Commission's findings. It precipitated a crisis that convulsed the Free State and had important repercussions in Northern Ireland and Britain.

In a joint statement, his colleagues expressed surprise at Mac Neill's action. Until November 20th, they declared, when, on his return from Dublin, he resigned, he

"...had made perfectly clear his intention of joining with us in signing the Commission's award embodying a boundary line, the general features of which were approved and recorded in our minutes as long ago as...October.[1]

---

[1] THE TIMES *(London)*, Nov. 24, 1925.

Dr. MacNeill, on the contrary, told the Dail of the

"...profound differences between himself and the chairman on fundamental principles of interpretation. He (Dr. MacNeill) held that article 12 meant that the people of the borderland were to be enabled to exercise a franchise that had been denied and withheld by the Act of 1920 ; in other words, that it was meant to revise that Act. Mr. Justice Feetham had a quite distinct view. He held that the 1920 Act and the time had elapsed had created a *status quo* which ought not to be departed from unless and when every element and every factor in the particular situation compelled the Commission to depart from it. Mr. Justice Feetham had imported into his mind a new condition into article 12, a political condition, which had nothing to do either with the wishes of the inhabitants or with considerations of economics or geography. This condition could only be read into article 12 by a constructional effort, but Mr. Justice Feetham made it the dominant feature of his interpretation. It was this—namely, that if the wishes of the inhabitants were found to indicate a desire to be included in the Free State, and if inclusion would have the effect of seriously reducing the area of the six counties so as to produce a political effect on the North, then this political consideration should override the wishes of the inhabitants.

He (Dr. MacNeill) never assented to that point of view..."[1]

In Dr. MacNeill's opinion, the boundary line, as determined by his colleagues,

"......could not be defended. It was indefensible as a right interpretation of the Treaty." [2]

It was understood that Dr. MacNeill had been pressing for the rendition to the Free State of several important towns in Northern Ireland and portions of the counties of Tyrone and Fermanagh. Mr. Justice Feetham and Mr. Fisher had, it was said, refused to concede that claim. They favoured only the ratification of the border and proposed to push back the north-western frontier of Northern Ireland by incorporating in it the richest portion of Donegal.

---

[1] THE TIMES (*London*), Nov. 25, 1925. Article 12 had provided that if Northern Ireland exercised its option of retaining its separate existence, " a Commission consisting of three persons, one to be appointed by the Government of the Irish Free State, one to be appointed by the Government of Northern Ireland and one who shall be Chairman to be appointed by the British Government shall determine in accordance with the wishes of the inhabitants as far as may be compatible with economic and geographic conditions the boundaries between Northern Ireland and the rest of Ireland, and for the purposes of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, and of this instrument, the boundary of Northern Ireland shall be such as may be determined by such Commission."

[2] *Ibid.*

A situation of the utmost gravity had arisen for the Cosgrave Government, with which Dr. MacNeill had severed his connection immediately after resigning from the Commission. Their contention had been, as President Cosgrave explained in the Dail,

> "......that the Commission has no right to take away any Free State territory. I go further and say that if the terms of reference contained in the Treaty were properly interpreted and effect given to the wishes of the inhabitants, this question could never arise, no boundary line could possibly be drawn consonant with the terms of reference which would infringe Free State territory. Even if, in the abstract, such power did in fact exist, I venture to say that at the time of the Treaty nobody had any doubt as to the work which the Boundary Commission was intended to perform. It was arranged by the Treaty that in the event of Northern Ireland remaining under the jurisdiction of the Parliament of the Free State, provision should be made for the protection of the Nationalist majority in that area. No such provision was to be made in the event of the Northern Parliament exercising its rights of continuing its association with Westminster. In that event the Boundary Commission was to bring the minority relief by returning them to the Government of their choice." [1]

In President Cosgrave's view, Dr. MacNeill left the Commission because he

> "......has lost faith in the other members of the Commission, and has left himself in honour bound to dissociate himself from them. I must say that I also have lost faith in the other members of the Commission, and am forced to the conclusion that they have allowed themselves to be swayed in the discharge of their judicial duty by the threats and political influence which have been brought to bear on them. Dr. MacNeill left, not because we were not getting all we asked for, but because justice was not being done, because the rights of our people in the North were being shamefully flouted and their destinies being made the plaything of hostile prejudices." [2]

---

[1] THE TIMES (*London*), November 29, 1925.

[2] *Ibid.*

President Cosgrave must have had in mind certain defiant statements made by leaders in Northern Ireland. Sir James Craig had, for instance, declared, in October, 1924, that in the event of any large transfer of Ulster territory " he and his ministers would resign office and, in their private capacities, lead the defence of Ulster." [1]

The gravity of the situation lay in the fact that not only did the award framed by the Commission go counter to the claims put forward by Mr. Cosgrave's Government, but also that that award, even after Dr. MacNeill's resignation, was held to be valid. President Cosgrave himself admitted in the Dail that, once published, it "would have been legally binding."

In that event, the Free State Government had only two alternatives before it,

"...to put the award into effect and the other to fly in the face of law and Constitution and to resort to the arbitrament of force. Either of these pointed straight to chaos and disorder. The second was clearly unthinkable. The former would drive the country asunder."[2]

Not only was the Free State Government placed in a terrible predicament, but the peace of both parts of Ireland was thrown in jeopardy. The island bristled with arms.

The Free State Army, in itself, was not far short of 50,000 officers and men. Its upkeep had cost £7,000,000 during 1924, absorbing more than a quarter of the total revenue. So long as the border question remained unsettled, no one in authority dared to make a drastic reduction in the forces.

In addition to the army there were irregular armed men who had survived the warfare that the Free State had waged in self-preservation at a cost of many lives and £17,000,000. It was an open secret that dumps of arms existed in practically every one of the twenty-six counties.

Much the same was true north and east of the frontier. Northern Ireland was an armed camp, if ever there was one. The " Special Constabulary " maintained in " Northern Ireland " had cost £7,420,000 since that state had been set up. His Majesty's Government had contributed £6,780,000 towards meeting that cost.

[1] DAILY MAIL (*Continental Edition*), October 9, 1925.
[2] THE TIMES (*London*), August 8, 1925.

Mr. Lloyd George's estimate of the forces that would be required "for the maintenance of order in North and South, with all the possibilities of conflict which may arise," had been exceeded. "If you take the most sanguine view," he had declared in the House of Commons, " the numbers will not exceed, for the whole of Ireland, 40,000." [1]

A Conservative Member, representing the City of London the, nerve centre of British finance, asked the Premier how he expected " to enforce the limit." He replied:

> " If Ireland breaks faith, breaks the Treaty, if such a situation has arisen, the British Empire has been quite capable of dealing with breaches of Treaties with much more formidable powers than Ireland but we want to feel perfectly clear that when she does so the responsibility is not ours but entirely on other shoulders." [2]

Prudence no doubt restrained His Majesty's Government when he presided over it and later when Mr. Stanley Baldwin succeeded him, from enforcing the limit. The forces that had been organized to preserve law and order on either side of the border had, in the meantime, become a menace to the peace of both parts of the island.

Statesmanship required that the crisis created by the unauthorized publication of a somewhat garbled version of the Boundary Commission Award followed by the resignation from that body of the Free State representative, should not be permitted to act as a spark to light up the explosive material accumulated on both sides of the frontier. In that matter both the Irish states and Britain, their next-door neighbour, linked with them by many bonds, were vitally interested.

All three parties rose to the occasion. A series of conferences hastily convened led to an amicable settlement by which not only the border question but also other issues, financial and otherwise, left unsettled by the Treaty, were adjusted.

In virtue of article 5 of the Treaty, the Irish delegation had, it may be recalled, assumed " liability for the service of the Public Debt of the United Kingdom, as existing at the date " of the Agreement " and towards the payment of War pensions as existing at that date in such proportion as may be fair and equitable." Mr. Lloyd George thus gave the *raison d'etre* of this obligation:

---

[1] Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, Vol. 149, No. 1, Col. 35.
[2] *Ibid*, Col. 36.

> "Every Dominion has its war debt and its pensions. Unless you make some arrangement with Ireland now Irishmen in Ireland would escape contribution to the Great War. Irishmen in this country (Britain), Irishmen in the Dominions, Irishmen in the United States of America, are all paying their share. Unless there were conditions in our Agreement that Irishmen in Ireland should also bear the same burden as Irishmen anywhere else, they would escape." [1]

As a basis of discussion, a preliminary claim of £128,000,000 had been originally put forward. With accrued interest it had swelled to £155,000,000 by the end of November 1, 1925.

No Chancellor of the Free State Exchequer who might any day be called upon to find the ways and means to meet interest and sinking fund charges on an obligation anything like so heavy, could be expected to breathe freely. It would mean the paying of £6,250,000 a year for 60 years.

The resources at his disposal were meagre in the extreme. The annual revenue totalled only £26,000,000. The military establishment ate up £10,000,000 in 1923 and £7,000,000 in 1924. On account of the pensions and compensation due to persons discharged from the Civil Service and Police, £1,500,000 had to be paid out annually.[2] The Annuities in connection with the purchase of land to liquidate landlordism (to which reference will be made in another place), £3,000,000 or more had to be found every year. Then there were interest and sinking fund charges on debt assumed, largely on account of the civil war provoked by Irish opponents of the Treaty, which was estimated to have cost virtually a whole year's revenue.

The Irish negotiators had, on the other hand, succeeded in having a stipulation inserted in the Treaty that in assessing the Free State's liability upon the dissolution of Ireland's partnership with Britain, regard would be had to "any just claims on the part of Ireland by way of set-off or counter-claims." For decades it had been contended that during the period of Union the smaller island had been taxed at a rate far in excess of what she should have been. The money due her, on this account, was placed at a figure that would not only relieve the Free State of any liability in connection with the Public Debt of the United Kingdom and payment of her war pensions, but would also entitle her to a considerable sum. Mr. Ernest Blythe, the Free State Minister for Finance, had estimated it at £280,000,000.

---

[1] Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, Vol. 149, No. 1.

[2] Article 10 reads: "The Government of the Irish Free State agrees to pay fair compensation on terms not less favourable than those accorded by the Act of 1920 to judges, officials, members of Police forces and other public servants who are discharged by it or who retire in consequence of the change of government effected in pursuance thereof."

"When they got down to brass tacks and attempted to estimate any value of Clause 5," Mr. Stanley Baldwin admitted in the House of Commons, "they could write it as *nil.*" Seeing Mr. Winston Churchill, a signatory of the Treaty, shake his head in disagreement, he added:

"If Mr. Churchill anticipated very much revenue out of it, he hoped that if he was making any forecast on any other item it would prove more profitable than his anticipation in connection with this or God help them next April." [1]

The Lord Chancellor (Lord Birkenhead) revealed, in the House of Lords, that if the financial claims and counter-claims were submitted to arbitration, Britain would have been awarded £40,000,000 or £50,000,000. "Was it seriously suggested," he asked, "that there was available in Ireland any such sum ?" He characterized the expectation as extravagant. Enforcement of such a claim would have bankrupted Ireland. "But of what advantage" to Britain, he enquired, "would be bankrupt Ireland at her doors ?"

Yet Lord Birkenhead was one of the British Ministers who had set their hands to an instrument containing those claims and counter-claims. With their penetrating intelligence they must, surely, have seen that Clause 5 of the Treaty was not worth the ink with which it was written.

This frank recognition led to a compromise whereby:

(1) The Irish Free State surrendered its claims to the adjustment of the boundary between her territory and Northern Ireland.

(2) She undertook, at the same time, to relieve Britain of the responsibility for compensating owners of property damaged from

---

[1] THE TIMES (*London*), December 9, 1925.

January 1, 1919 (during the "Black and Tan" period); to the truce of 1921 and to repay to Britain the amount she had already paid or was liable to pay under agreements then existing. To discharge this liability the Cosgrave Government undertook to make an initial payment of £150,000 and an annuity of £250,000 for 60 years. Against these amounts, they were to be given credit for £900,000 which would have been due to them under the old agreement.

(3) In addition to this financial undertaking, the Free State undertook to promote legislation increasing by ten per cent. the measure of compensation payable in respect of material damage done since the truce of 1921 for which she alone was responsible. The cost to that State would amount approximately to £1,000,000 payable in five per cent. stock redeemable in ten years.

(4) His Majesty's Government undertook to withdraw all financial claims in respect of the public debt and war pensions.

(5) Northern Ireland was relieved of an obligation for the administration of certain services (railways, diseases of animals and fisheries) by the Council of Ireland, consisting equally of representatives of the two Irish Governments, similar provision not being made in respect of the same services in the Free State. That State had been persuaded to agree, soon after it came into being, to postpone the demand, for the joint administration of these services for five years. That period would have ended in 1927 and if the right had not been waived, in the meantime, a situation of great peril might have resulted; for it was inconceivable that it could have been enforced in Ulster without bloodshed.

This provision was replaced by a clause reading:

> "The two Governments of North and South shall meet together as and when necessary for the purpose of considering matters of common interests arising out of the exercise and administration of the powers in question." [1]

This tripartite agreement settled some of the most vexatious issues that had been left undetermined in the Treaty. Undoubtedly Northern Ireland benefited by it all along the line—it kept all the territory it had been given; it secured freedom from intervention by the Free State in certain services; and the prospect of peace would make it possible for it to relieve itself of some of the financial burden it had borne on account of the Special Constabulary. Britain forgave a debt that she considered unrealizable and secured the Free State's assent to assuming liabilities which would have cost the British Exchequer millions of pounds. The Free State had the consolation of having averted the calamity of losing considerable territory. She had, in addition, the relief that comes from the removal of financial uncertainties that had hung like a dark shadow over her horizon since coming into being.

---

[1] THE TIMES (*London*), December 9, 1925.

It must have been with a pang that the Cosgrave Government agreed to the abrogation of the provision for joint administration that had survived the process of attrition. Its utility was no doubt questionable, since any attempt at enforcement was sure to have been resisted by Northern Ireland. But with the conclusion of the supplementary agreement even the legal right which had been originally conceded after great struggle, disappeared.[1]

Dehra Dun. *(To be concluded.)*

---

[1] The writer of this article, a notable author and publicist, had the privilege of studying the Irish constitutional development on the spot and with the constitution-makers themselves. He has been, therefore, able to give an account which while unvarnished, is authentic and, we believe, informing and interesting. The concluding instalment of the article will be published in our next issue.

This article has been specially written for and is exclusive to the CALCUTTA REVIEW; but the author maintains all rights of translation and *subsequent* publication.

Ed. C. R.

THE PROBLEM OF INDIA'S CONSTITUTIONAL STATUS.

TRIPURARI CHAKRAVARTI, M.A.
Lecturer, Department of History, Calcutta University.

INDIA'S constitutional status has become a much discussed subject both in England and in India since the publication of the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report on Indian Constitutional Reform. On 1st July last, Lord Snell proposed in the House of Lords the insertion in clause 5 of the Government of India Bill of a declaration that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress was the attainment of Dominion Status. He doubted if the declarations made in the course of the second reading of the Bill by Sir Samuel Hoare, Sir Thomas Inskip and Viscount Halifax bound future Parliaments and claimed that acceptance of his amendment would satisfy the whole of India and set the minds of the country free for the great task of social reconstitution. Lord Zetland, the new Secretary of State for India, however, in his reply repeated the arguments of Sir Thomas Inskip, the Attorney-General, that it was almost impossible to give a legal definition of Dominion Status. He further said that it appeared to him that a preamble or indeed a clause of an Act was no more binding than the statement of a Minister. Parliament could repeal or amend an Act on the Statute Book. The amendment of Lord Snell was negatived by 85 votes to 7.

Several facts connected with Indian Constitutional development in the 20th Century, may, however, serve to clarify the issue involved in the present discussion. India under the Morley-Minto Constitution of 1909 remained absolutely in the position of tutelage and the Morley-Minto reforms, merely tried, as the authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report have pointed out, " to blend the principle of autocracy derived from Moghul Emperors with the principle of constitutionalism derived from the British Crown and Parliament." The system of Government was frankly a "Constitutional autocracy," and it became all the more intelligible in view of Lord Morley's disclaimer:— " If it could be said that this chapter of reforms led directly or indirectly to the establishment of a parliamentary system in India, I for one would have nothing at all to do with it.''

One of the results of the outbreak of the Great War in 1914 was to speed up the political development of many countries in the world, and it speeded up enormously the political consciousness of India. India got a formal acknowledgment of her position in the Empire when Indian representatives for the first time were asked to be present at the Imperial War Conference of 1917. The Indian Government being a subordinate branch of the British Government in England had no representation in the Colonial Conferences of 1887, 1897, 1902 and 1907, and Lord Crewe, the Secretary of State for India, attended only on certain occasions the first Imperial Conference of 1911. The Imperial War Conference of 1917, however, passed on the 16th April a very important constitutional resolution which for the first time recognised "India as an important portion of the Imperial Commonwealth having the right to an adequate voice in foreign policy and in foreign relations."

Then came the famous Declaration of the 20th August, 1917, promising " the gradual development of self-governing institutions, with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in British India as an integral part of the Empire." This Declaration made by Mr. Montagu in Parliament was incorporated *in toto* in the preamble to The Government of India Act, 1919, on the recommendation of the Joint Select Committee, presided over by Lord Selborne, on the Government of India Bill. Originally the preamble did not include all parts of the announcement of the 20th August, 1917. But the Joint Select Committee enlarged the preamble so as to include all parts of the announcement of the 20th August, 1917, on the ground that "an attempt was made to distinguish between the parts of this announcement, and to attach a different value to each part according to opinion." This was to make clear and certain by the preamble of a Parliamentary Statute that every part of the declaration of the 20th August was a " binding pledge," and that no part was " a mere expression of opinion of no importance."

Sir John Simon in his speech in the House of Commons (3rd December, 1931) on the Indian White Paper of 1st December, 1931, recognised the wisdom and legal necessity of incorporating the entire Parliamentary announcement in the preamble of the statute. He said: " Indeed when the Government of India Bill of 1919 came to be examined in Committee, a change was made in the language of the preamble for the express purpose of making sure that what would be found on our Statute Book corresponded exactly with the Declaration then made by the Secretary of State." So the present contention of Sir Samuel Hoare, Sir Thomas Inskip and Lord Zetland that there is no difference between a Parliamentary announcement and a preamble to an Act of Parliament, is untenable, and is contrary to the clear and distinct finding of the Joint Select Committee set up on the Government of India Bill, 1919. In this connection it is also interesting to note that Sir John Ward-law-Milne, the Chairman of the Conservative India Committee in the House of Commons, in the course of debate on the Report of the Joint Committee in the House of Commons, on December 10, 1934, gave it as his opinion that " no pledge given by any Secretary of State or any Viceroy has any real legal bearing on the matter at all. The only thing that Parliament is really bound by is the Act of 1919." Lord Rankeillour, for many years Deputy Speaker and Chairman of Committees in the House of Commons, said in his speech in the House of Lords on 13th December, 1934: " Preamble of the Act of 1919 binds us, but nothing else. No statement by a Viceroy, no statement by any representative of the Sovereign, no statement by the Prime Minister, indeed no statement by the Sovereign himself, can bind Parliament against its judgment." In view of such divergent and even contradictory opinions expressed by constitutional experts on the value and strength of ministerial pronouncements, it is not surprising that enlightened Indian political opinion should insist on the necessity of incorporating the substance of Dominion Status into the legal phraseology of the preamble of an Act of Parliament.

In fact, the pledges given to India have been very many. The Declaration of the 20th August, 1917, has already been referred to. On the occasion of the inauguration on February 9, 1921, of the new Indian Legislature at Delhi, His Majesty the King-Emperor delivered through the Duke of Connaught the following message:—" For years, it may be for generations, patriotic and loyal Indians have dreamed of Swaraj for their Motherland. To-day you have the beginnings of Swaraj within my Empire, and widest scope and ample opportunity for progress to the liberty which my other Dominions enjoy." The Duke of Connaught also announced that the "principle of autocracy had been abandoned," and speaking on behalf of His Majesty and with the assent of His Government, he repudiated in the most emphatic manner the idea that the administration of India ever could be based on principles of force or terrorism. The same point is made in the revised Instrument of Instructions from His Majesty the King-Emperor to the Governor-General of India, dated the 15th March, 1921, which states: "For above all things it is our will and pleasure that the plans laid by our Parliament......may come to fruition to the end that British India may attain its true place among our Dominions." It was thus that India obtained a distinct status and that she was placed on the road to a position of equality with the Dominions. In June, 1921, Mr. Winston Churchill, then Secretary of State for the Dominions and Colonies, in a public speech to the Prime Ministers of the British Dominions and Representatives of India said:—"There was another great part of the Empire represented at that gathering which had not yet become a Dominion, but which moved forward under the Montagu Scheme in the work which began with Lord Morley and was continued by Lord Chelmsford, towards a great Dominion Status. We owed India that deep debt, and we looked forward confidently to the days when Indian Government and people would have assumed fully and completely their Dominion Status."

But in the Imperial Conference, 1923, the Indian delegates received a rude shock that India was still very far from the desired and ultimate goal. The representative of the Irish Free State in the conference, Mr. Fitzgerald, openly proclaimed that Indian representatives could not claim equality with the representatives of the Dominions, because they were not really present in the Conference in a representative capacity. They were not really sent by an independent Indian Government and they could not really be regarded as equal with the rest of the members of the Conference. "The only way this Indian trouble is going to be solved," he said, "is that progress towards self-government must be hastened with all possible speed. We, in our country, must sympathise whole-heartedly with the Indians, both in their protest against their inferior race treatment, and in their feelings as to the freedom of their country."

On February 8, 1924, Sir Malcolm Hailey, the then Home Member of the Government of India, in his speech delivered in the Indian Legislative Assembly tried to show some "difference of substance" between responsible government as promised to India by the pronouncement of 20th August, 1917, and Dominion Status as enjoyed by the British Dominions. Sir Malcolm Hailey's arguments and the implications of his arguments were at once repudiated, no doubt, by the members of the Legislative Assembly, and by Indian public opinion outside the Assembly, but the speech marked the beginning, as the Nehru Committee Report of 1928 pointed out, of a "new current of thought in official circles in India."

India's constitutional status was in no way advanced by the Imperial Conference of 1926. That Conference, while adopting the famous Balfour Declaration in regard to the equal status and free association of Great Britain and the Dominions as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, made the significant remark that "the position of India in the Empire was already defined by the Government of India Act, 1919." So that Conference did nothing to solve the difficulties created by Sir Malcolm Hailey's attempted distinction between "Responsible Government" and "Dominion Status." In 1927 was appointed the Simon Commission to report on the future Indian constitutional reforms, and in 1928 an All Parties' Conference met in India to produce, as an answer to the challenge of Lord Birkenhead, the then Secretary of State for India, "a constitution which carried behind it a fair measure of general agreement among the great peoples of India." Lord Birkenhead emphatically said that such a contribution would be most carefully examined by the Government of India, by the Secretary of State and by the Indian Statutory Commission. The first clause of the recommendations of the All Parties' Conference Report, 1928, laid down the Constitutional Status of India. It ran as follows:—

> "India shall have the same constitutional status in the community of Nations known as the British Empire, as the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, the Union of South Africa and the Irish Free State, with a Parliament having powers to make laws for the peace, order and good government of India, and an executive responsible to that Parliament, and shall be styled and known as the Commonwealth of India."

This clause was copied from the first article of the Articles of Agreement for a Treaty between Great Britain and Ireland, concluded on December 6, 1921. The Anglo-Irish Treaty was, however, given the force of law by an Act of the Imperial Parliament passed in 1922, and the Treaty also appeared as the Second Schedule to the Free State Constitution Act passed in the British Parliament on December 5, 1922.

The Report of the Nehru Committee was adopted by an All Parties' Convention which met in Calcutta in December, 1928. On the 31st October, 1929, Lord Irwin, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, announced the setting up of a conference in which His Majesty's Government should meet representatives both of British India and of the States for the purpose of discussing the proposals for constitutional reform in India, and also made the important pronouncement on behalf of and with the authority of His Majesty's Government that " it is implicit in the Declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress, as there contemplated, is the attainment of Dominion Status." In 1930, Mr. Wedgewood Benn, the Secretary of State for India, in the Labour Government of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, said in the House of Commons that in India there was already " Dominion Status in action." In the same year again, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald spoke at the Guildhall Banquet on the 9th November, in the following terms:—" We shall be in conference with men and women who are representatives of a people with whom we have been thrown into contact, and the closest contact for centuries.........and with their representatives and with their Princes we shall be engaged in the same task of broadening liberty so that we may live with them under the same Crown, they enjoying Dominion Self-Government which is essential for national self-respect and contentment." Lastly there are the concluding words of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald at the final session of the First Indian Round Table Conference, in January, 1931, a declaration which he affirmed a year later as the head of the National Government, with the approval of the Cabinet. The Prime Minister said this:—" Finally I hope, and I trust, and I pray, that by our labours together India will come to possess the only thing she now lacks to give her the Status of a Dominion amongst the British Commonwealth of Nations—what she now lacks for that—the responsibilities and the cares, the burdens and the difficulties, but the pride and the honour of responsible Self-government."

There can be no doubt that in India these various statements and pledges were understood in their natural meaning, that is to say, that India could look forward to attaining within a reasonable period of time the same status as that of the other Dominions of the British Commonwealth. But the Report of the Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform which was published in November, 1934, scrupulously avoids any reference to Dominion Status in the body of the Report ; on the other hand, it pins its faith to the preamable to the Act of 1919, and makes the significant remark that "Subsequent statements of policy have added nothing to the substance of the declaration embodied in the Preamable to the Act of 1919." The Government of India Bill, 1935, has been introduced in Parliament without any preamble. In moving the Second Reading of the Bill in the House of Commons on the 6th February Sir Samuel Hoare said that there was no need for a preamble to the Bill, as the preamble to the Act of 1919 would stand unrepealed. That preamble had been interpreted by Lord Irwin in 1929 as meaning that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress as there contemplated, was the attainment of Dominion Status. The Government, said Sir Samuel Hoare, stood firmly both by the pledge given in the 1919 preamble and the Viceroy's interpretation of it in 1929. There was, therefore, from the point of view of the Government of the day, no need to enshrine in an Act words and phrases which would add nothing new to the declaration of the preamble. The preamble to the Act of 1919 was described by the Joint Committee in their Report as "having set out finally and definitely the ultimate aims of British rule in India."

But Indian public opinion, as the Indian Delegates to the Joint Committee have said in their Memorandum, has been profoundly disturbed by the attempts made repeatedly during recent years to qualify the repeated pledges given by responsible Ministers on behalf of His Majesty's Government. Since it is aparently contended, both in Parliament and outside, that only a definite statement in an Act of Parliament would be binding on future Parliaments, and that even the solemn declaration made by His Majesty the King-Emperor on a formal occasion is not authoritative, it is necessary that a declaration should be inserted in a new preamble to the Bill of 1935 in order to remove present grave misgivings and avoid future misunderstandings. In other words, for an exact, unambiguous and accurate definition of India's present and future constitutional status it is absolutely essential that the present Bill should contain a new preamble defining the constitutional status of India in the British Commonwealth of Nations. The preamble to the Act of 1919 is hopelessly out of date, and no amount of "interpretation" put upon it can make it identical or consistent with the constitutional status of the dominions. That preamble binds India "as an integral part of the Empire," and this implies the unrestricted control of the Imperial Legislature, the Imperial Executive and the Imperial Judiciary over the affairs of India. As a matter of fact, it has been explicitly stated in a part of the preamble that the "time and manner of each advance can be determined only by Parliament, upon whom responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples." The constitutional status of the Dominions, on the other hand, according to the preamble to the Statute of Westminster, 1931, is based on the declaration that "the Crown is the symbol of the free association of the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations" and that the members of the Commonwealth are "united by common allegiance to the Crown." The Balfour formula which was adopted by the Imperial Conference of 1926 and which was recognised by the preamble to the Statute of Westminster, 1931, runs :—"Great Britain and the Dominions are autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in Status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs." It is important to note further that since the Statute of Westminster, 1931, the Union of South Africa has passed two very important statutes, known as the Status of the Union Act, 1934, and the Royal Executive Functions and Seals Act, 1934, which support the doctrines of (1) the divisibility of the Crown as regards the Union ; (2) the right of Union neutrality in the case of a war declared by the Crown on the advice of British Ministers ; and (3) the right of the Union to separate from the Commonwealth. General Hertzog, the Premier of the Union, has never swerved from these propositions, and it is natural to find them implied in the union legislations promoted to effect his purpose. The Status of the Union Act asserts, as Professor Berriedale Keith has pointed out recently in the Journal of Comparative Legislation, that the status of the Dominions enunciated by the Imperial Conference of 1926 is that of a sovereign independent state, and General Smuts in discussing the measure has argued that this follows from the fact that the Conference of 1926 placed the union on the footing of equality with the United Kingdom, which clearly is sovereign and independent. Far more important is the fact that the sovereign legislative power is declared by this Act to be vested in the Union Parliament alone, and in accordance with this doctrine the appropriate parts of the Statute of Westminster, 1931, are re-enacted as

Union Law. The vital point in the Royal Executive Functions and Seals Act is the power which it gives to the Governor-General to exercise any royal function in respect either of internal or external affairs on the advice of the ministry without obtaining royal approval. Professor Keith thinks that "in strict law there seems no obstacle to the Governor-General issuing a proclamation of neutrality in the event of the Crown declaring war on the advice of British ministers. There seems further no obstacle to the Governor-General assenting to an Act which would sever the connection between the Union and the Crown. General Hertzog, therefore, may claim that the measure does provide a legal means for the assertion of the doctrines of the rights of neutrality and secession." The recent judgment of the Privy Council in *Moore* v. *Attorney-General*, which asserted the validity of the Act of 1933 of the Irish Free State abolishing the right of appeal to the King in Council, has still further strengthened the position of the Dominion Parliament. "We must," as Professor Keith has again observed in another article, "answer in favour of General Hertzog the vexed question whether by his Status of the Union Act and Royal Executive Functions and Seals Act in 1934 he has succeeded in establishing in law the divisibility of the Crown and the existence of the rights of neutrality and secession." Therefore, by no amount of legal subtlety or legal fiction, can the preamble to the Act of 1919 be interpreted as ultimately aiming at Dominion Status for India. That preamble is definitely circumscribed in its aim and scope, and it can never bear the meaning of the ultimate attainment of Dominion Status for India.

In course of the debate on the second reading of the Government of India Bill, 1935, the Attorney-General, Sir Thomas Inskip, said that Dominion Status could not be inserted in the preamble to the present Bill because "it would be extraordinarily difficult to frame suitable language as to the nature of the Dominion Status which was intended to be conferred upon the Indian people, and put it in the formal framework of the preamble." His Excellency Sir John Anderson, the present Governor of Bengal, also recently told the members of the Bengal Legislative Council that the term 'Dominion Status' was not a juridical conception at all and would, therefore, be out of place in the body of any statute. In reply to these objections it may be urged that India does not want the inclusion of the phrase 'Dominion Status' exactly in the preamble. The term 'Dominion Status' is not a term of art, and it is perhaps incapable of precise legal definition. But it could certainly be declared without any legal difficulty or ambiguity in a preamble to the present Bill that India shall have ultimately the same constitutional status in the community of Nations known as the British Empire, as the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, and the Irish Free State, with a Parliament having powers to make laws for the peace, order and good government of India, and an Executive responsible to that Parliament. Such a declaration is not without a precedent in the constitutional history of the British Commonwealth. An exact declaration like this constituted the first article of the Articles of Agreement for a treaty between Great Britain and Ireland concluded on December 6, 1921. Of course, there would be this difference that Ireland was to have this constitutional status immediately, and not at some future date, as in the case of India. The Anglo-Irish Treaty was given the force of law by an Act of the Imperial Parliament passed on December 5, 1922, and in the preamble to this Act it was declared that the "Irish Constitution shall be construed with reference to the Articles of Agreement for a Treaty between Great Britain and Ireland set forth in the second schedule hereto annexed (hereinafter referred to as the scheduled treaty) which are hereby given the force of law."

So the future constitutional status of India is capable of legal definition like the constitutional status of the Irish Free State. By saying that we do not attempt to impose upon future India the constitutional status of the Irish Free State in 1921 "put into cold storage." The constitutional status of a Dominion to which India would aspire would be the most current and up-to-date status of that Dominion. An important declaration regarding the constitutional status of India was embodied in the Nehru Committee Report and was approved by the All-Parties Convention sitting in Calcutta in December, 1928. The British Parliament might easily, therefore, satisfy the legitimate demand of the Indian Nation by incorporating such a declaration in a preamble to the present Bill.

Calcutta.

CO-EDUCATION

K. D. GHOSE, M.A. (OXON.), DIP.ED. (OXON.), BAR.-AT-LAW.
Professor, David Hare Training College, Calcutta.

SOMEWHERE in the eighteen-fifties in a dual secondary school in England (*i.e.* a school that receives both the sexes but educates them separately and where even the men and women teachers are often segregated) a male teacher had occasion one afternoon in order to make some perfectly harmless enquiry to enter the class-room of a woman colleague. She was so astounded at this breach of etiquette that she nearly fainted ; when however she sufficiently recovered, the first thing she did was to ring a bell to summon the head master who arrived in due course and led his erring colleague away. It is not clear whether the morals of the teacher or the *morale* of the taught which his promptitude of action preserved.

What is clear however is that great changes had come over educational practice and theory in England by the end of the 19th century. The dual secondary schools, actuated in the first place by considerations of convenience and economy and no doubt encouraged by the example of the mixed elementary schools in the country, often relaxed the barriers that segregated the sexes and girls and boys were taught together and no very obvious deterioration in manners or morals were observed to follow. A few ardent reformers like Badley, Reddie, Pice, Cecil Grant and others established co-educational schools in different parts of the country led by their conviction that distinct moral and social gains were to result from their introduction to the individual and the nation. Finally, there was the advance in public opinion with regard to the status of women and a corresponding lessening of the desire to afford girls a special protection. All these factors contributed to the decline of the dual school and its gradual suppression by the mixed school.

Since the beginning of the 20th century, co-education at the secondary stage has made such rapid strides in England that there are nearly 400 mixed secondary schools in England and Wales to-day as against 450 separate girls' and 463 separate boys' schools, *i.e.*, the mixed schools constitute nearly one-third of the entire secondary system in England and Wales and it has been calculated that 2 boys out of every 7 receiving secondary education in England and Wales received it in schools to which girls were also admitted. Between them these mixed schools educate about one hundred thousand boys and girls, *i.e.*, approximately one quarter of the total number of pupils receiving 'efficient' secondary education—a fact of tremendous significance and a great eye-opener to those who would still like to believe that, it does not matter what Scotland and influenced by her example America might have done, England at any rate has definitely set her face against this highly dangerous practice of co-education. In England these mixed schools were originally the products of economy and convenience but there has been a steady growth of a strong belief in them on educational and moral grounds. Conviction has come to replace mere considerations of convenience. This is true to such a remarkable extent that teachers who have had experience of both types of schools would hardly ever think of going back to the single sex school, though they might have spent a good portion of their lives there.

I have tried to focus attention on the secondary stage of education as co-education as a method or policy has won universal recognition in the elementary and the university stages all over the world and the battle rages fiercely still round the difficult period of adolescence. At the present moment Russia, China, Spain, Scotland, America, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland and the northern countries like Norway, Sweden, Denmark and partially England are co-educational at the secondary stage but even in some of these countries opinion is sharply divided on the question. If the co-educationists would agree to separate the sexes from the ages of 12 to 16 (which often means in practice from 11 to 18) there would not have been that sharp cleavage of opinion that exists with regard to this question. But that is precisely what the co-educationists cannot agree to do, since it is their contention that it is during the period of adolescence that the need for co-education is most urgent and that its moral, social and intellectual advantages most marked. But we must not forget that while they acclaim it as a great blessing and the best preparation for life, there are large numbers who see in it the seeds of individual and racial decay.

The attitude of hostility is to a large extent due to two things, (1) firstly to the misconception which still largely prevails as to what co-education is or what its programme may be ; (2) secondly, the stultifying influence of prejudice and blind custom and the consequent lack of a scientific attitude to the question based on the considerable volume of data and evidence that have been collected in England and America. Co-education is forcing itself on the attention of the public at the present moment in India and a reasoned judgment strengthened by the available data and the experience not only of other countries but also of our own country should take the place of mere irresponsible opinion. By co-education, we mean boys and girls are educated together, usually in the same classes and are allowed some freedom of association both within and without school hours. It certainly does not mean that boys and girls shall be taught the same things, at the same time, in the same place, by the same faculty, with the same methods and under the same regimen. That is based upon the assumption that there are no differences between girls and boys and consequently they should be given precisely the same education. Co-education certainly recognizes difference in their physical and mental powers and needs, but it holds because of their fundamental similarities and because of the great gains that result from the association of the sexes, they should be educated together, uniting in classes, in many sports, and in much of their social life but modifying all these to suit their special differences. The co-educationist claims that he can make adequate provision for the slightly differing needs of the sexes within the organization of the same school. Take for instance the biological function of woman and her position in the home. Test-tube babies might have a fascination for some women or a few may be enamoured of Lord Birkenhead's vision of the future when babies would be grown in laboratories and incubators. Some would also perhaps point to the 1931 Census of Occupation of Women in England and Wales as presenting to the world the interesting fact that there is no profession or occupation left untouched by woman, but inspite of it all, the vast majority of women whether in the West or in the East, whether in the near or the distant future, would look forward to a married life and their position as the mistress of the home as a desirable objective in their lives. The woman's functions of child-birth and infant nurture are bound to give the average girl a bias of interest in home life and the better type of co-educational school makes ample provision for her needs by opening separate classes in domestic subjects such as mother-craft, nursing, cooking, sewing, laundry work, etc.

Those who concede co-education in principle are still assailed by doubts and misgivings as to the risks and dangers that are inherent in the new experiment. But what they forget is that segregation of the sexes at this period is ten times more risky and positively harmful. Nobody denies that there are risks in bringing together the sexes at the difficult period of adolescence. But has educational statesmanship become so very bankrupt that it cannot provide adequate safeguards so that chances of harm might be reduced to nil and the proved benefits of the system reaped in full. Nothing worth achieving in this world is without its risks and we cannot take up the position of the man at the aerodrome who would not buy a ticket unless it was certified that there would be no accident.

What are then the real objections to co-education that still make people nervous about it ?

Broadly speaking the problem presents two different aspects calling for scientific examination and findings. First there is the imperative psychological consideration of the effects produced by boys and girls on one another during adolescence—among other things the fear of the sex lure.

Secondly the question of sex differences and how far they should affect the courses of study, their pace of progress and the organization of the curriculum and teaching. It is felt if these two difficulties are met, the others connected with the experiment would not very much matter.

Dominating every other consideration in the mind of the parent is the moral question—will the co-educational school be 'safe' for his son or daughter ? He does not fear, of course, the grosser forms of immorality but he has an uneasy feeling that to educate a girl with boys or a boy with girls is to invite a series of emotional disturbances which he would rather avoid or postpone. He forgets it is not the co-educationist who introduces the complication. It is Nature herself. She has put the age of puberty right in the middle of the child's school career. Repression or clandestine satisfaction of sex feelings is attended with grave risks and so the co-educational school provides an atmosphere where boys and girls sublimate their sex feeling through the thousand and one activities of school and make their adjustments under safe conditions. He apprehends his child will fall a victim to the sex lure: But it is precisely in the mixed school the co-educationist tells him that the sex lure can be most effectively counteracted.

There is also considerable irony in the apprehension of sex experimentation in the co-educational school as a number of these schools were deliberately established to combat as far as possible the low state of sex-morality in boys' boarding and to a lesser extent, in boys' day schools. It is acknowledged to-day by educationists that the mixed school, boarding or day, is a safer place for the average boy or girl as regards harmonious sexual development than the average one-sex school. A few years ago the English public was startled by the public school novel, *The Loom of Youth* by Alec Waugh, himself an ex-public school boy, painting its impurity in lurid colours. It focussed public attention on certain facts which had been perfectly well known to schoolmasters for years. A novel is not a scientific treatise but more significant than the novel was the reception that was accorded it—the matter-of-fact comments passed upon it by those who had been insiders and should know. Professor Findlay in warning his readers about the exaggeration of public school immorality could only say that a substantial minority of boys passed through the public schools unscathed. Day schools do not fare any better. It is not denied that most homes fail to furnish an atmosphere where the sexes might adjust themselves and the result is the growth of these abnormalities and vices in the boys' day schools as well. The same tale is told of girls' schools. The segregated girls' schools suffer also from a considerable amount of the same tendencies. The older girls continually fall in love with their mistresses and each other, they write silly little notes to equally segregated males in the outer world, they go girlish about film stars with wavy hair. Rosamond Lehman's description in her novel *Dusty Answer* of a girls' school at night dormitories of sleeping virgins with their loves and dreams has something dreadful and pitiful about it, and Olive Moore's novel, *Celestial Seraglio*, might almost be taken as a clinical study in this respect.

One does not need to go through the investigations of Psychoanalysts to understand that to segregate large numbers of either sex, to cut them off from the society of the other is not a natural proceeding and imposes a high degree of strain upon them. Under that strain their code of morals will often collapse and immorality in one form or another, impurity of thought, indecent language, self-abuse or something worse, will result. The instincts and emotions of adolescence with its quickening sexual awareness, are afforded no natural outlet—the boy is thrown back on himself and his companies. He begins his sexual life with his own sex. Few will question to-day the fact that the presence of girls in a boy's school, day or boarding, has purified the atmosphere, that co-education has in fact remedied such evils, by offering in the healthy and regulated companionship of school life, silent opportunities for the subconscious satisfaction of dawning sex feeling and thus helping sexual growth quietly along normal channels. One doubts whether this vital aspect of the problem influences public opinion very much. If it did, the attitude of distrust towards co-education would quickly disappear.

By admitting boys and girls once for all, taking them for granted and unkindly robbing each of the glamour of the half-light and the delicately whispered confidence (girls and boys in a mixed school do not whisper delicately to each other), the co-educational school has to a great extent helped them to dismiss the whole subject of sex. It will seem alright later on; but for the time being it loses its appeal. Wherever else sex strain is to be found, it will not be found within the walls of the ordinary mixed school, for the atmosphere, all observers note, closely resembles that of the home and is definitely one of pleasant friendliness.

The atmosphere, free from sexual embarrassments, becomes one in which each contributes freely to the development of the other. They discover slowly (what many adults have yet to discover) that comradeship is possible between members of the opposite sexes on a healthy and unsentimental basis. They develop a capacity for intelligent friendship ; and they find out that friendliness can exist without familiarity and that boys and girls can help each other without wanting to flirt. It is not that mild flirtations do not sometimes occur but the whole sweep of public opinion is against sentimentality and softness and towards that firmness and fine comradeship that come of sublimation. And hence flirtations are very short-lived if they do occur at all.

Besides purifying the atmosphere of school life, a mixed school helps the co-educated boy to have a more dignified ideal of relationship between the sexes. Woman has been his playmate and co-worker. She is not the plaything of his lighter moments. He has come to have a more lasting respect for her, because he knows her better; true respect cannot be based on ignorance. He will expect more: and he knows if he expects more, he must give more. Thus on the basis of this understanding would an enduring friendship and a harmonious sex life be possible. The segregation of the sexes is responsible for not a little of the misery in our lives. It has made sex adaptation almost an impossibility. As a consequence the Englishman is perhaps the dullest and the Indian the most sentimental of husbands in the world !

Segregation of the sexes is unnatural and unhealthy at any time, but particularly so during the formative years of childhood and the quickening years of adolesence. Yet this segregation is the basis of the existing orthodox educational system.

I have discussed at length the moral question as co-education is really condemned on the ground that it accelerates the sex-urge and introduces complications into the lives of young girls and boys. Enough has been said I think to remove the fears of over anxious parents and educationists.

If co-education is justified on moral grounds, there are very few who would question its great value as a training ground for citizenship and for imparting that sense of community which unites men and women to co-operate in the service of the state and makes them accommodate and adjust their differing points of view. The urgent need of society to-day is that men and women should come to understand and co-operate with each other more. Is separation or is association more likely to lead to a better understanding ? On the answer to that depends the value of the mixed school as a social institution. It is the plainest of common sense that the attempt that is often made to keep women in one sphere and men in another and then to expect them to mingle with one another for the tasks of life is nothing short of an absurdity.

With regard to the question of the physical and mental differences between the sexes, and their differing needs, psychological investigations and the evidence gathered by the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education in England conclusively prove that popular opinion is too prone to overemphasise and exaggerate these differences to an extent not recognised in a strictly scientific view. Take for instance the question of mental differences. The various intelligence tests have established beyond doubt that women are in no way inferior to men in mental capacity, though they may have differing interests and temperament. A sound system of intensive education is also revealing the further fact that the differences in capacity between the individuals of the same sex are just as many, and as great as between the sexes, calling for differential treatment both in study and training. So sex differences cannot be regarded as introducing new complications into the problem. It is a matter of organising the teaching to suit these individual differences and all good schools, whether single-sex or mixed, are at least making an attempt to do this.

Experience, confirmed by scientific investigation however, shows that there is one point of difference which is somewhat inherent and fundamental. This is the rate of growth for boys and girls. Adolescence sets in the girl as a rule a couple of years earlier than in the boy and she generally gets at the start ahead of the boy in mental development, but only up to the age of 14. As against this must be set the fact of her greater liability to fatigue and overstrain after puberty. When this age-limit of 14 is reached, the boy who was initially outstripped picks up and overtakes the girl. It is apprehended that goaded by a sense of competition the girl makes efforts to make up for a growing deficiency that involves great strain and may end in a breakdown. But this danger, if it is not over-exaggerated, is not peculiar to co-education. It will operate wherever there is competition. As a matter of fact we have it on evidence that the strain is far more severe in English separate girls' schools. And we know that is equally the case in the Indian girls' schools. Led by a determination to show that girls and women could equal boys and men, they are more in danger of stimulating excess of industry in girls. They have proved their case but at what a sacrifice ! The Consultative Committee even suggested that the girls should take the First School Examination a year later than the boys, so that the girl of 17 would be equated to the boy of 16. In any case the remedy is not separation but a lessening of the spirit of competition. The danger will be far great in a separate than in a mixed school where girls and boys meet each other in a spirit of camaraderie and understand each other's difficulties more than when they are jealously kept apart as antagonistic rivals in separated schools. It should of course be a special point of attention of the staff that the girl after puberty, especially after the 14th year, needs to be sheltered from overstrain and helped more than the boy. The real remedy is of course specialisation along the lines of particular bent and natural aptitude of each sex and no examinations, but in an imperfect world like ours there is not much prospect of realising either in the near future.

The difference in the physical strength of the two sexes is understood and recognized. Nobody suggests that boys and girls should play football or hockey together but there is no objection to their joining in cricket, tennis, swimming, skipping, badminton, folk-dancing, rythmic movements and small-space games that do not involve very great strain but make the life of the young generation happier and perhaps cleaner than ours has been.

It is also a matter of minor importance whether this or that subject of study is congenial to one sex or the other ; whether for example boys excel in the classics, science and mathematics or girls in literature, history and modern languages and fine art. The elaborate examination statistics collected have a good deal of academic interest but once you agree that boys and girls ought on other grounds to be educated together, you will not trouble greatly about these varieties of choice. It has never been proved that the differences in achievement betweeen the sexes are so great that they cannot be taught together.

The examination statistics are sometimes used as evidence of sex incapacity ; it is held that because boys usually outstrip girls in mathematics, there is some congenital defect in the female make-up that leaves her helpless in front of quadratic equations and the argument can be reversed when boys are asked to write essays on Keats and Shelley. In both cases the hypothesis is not proved: the facts can be more simply and quite adequately accounted for in terms of desire and interest: the whole environment and outlook of the average girl leads her to become comparatively indifferent to mathematics and there are many tendencies in the present-day environment of boys that lead them away from poetry and every form of fine art. If either sex wishes to prove incompetence in the other, there are plenty of statistics to work on.

Further there are statistics to show that the average mathematical attainments of girls and literary attainments of boys in mixed schools are on a much higher level than in segregated schools. That is also the case with the percentage of passes (Sir Benjamin Gott's Middlesex figures). Neither does it matter very much that investigations have proved that constructiveness, initiative and independence come chiefly from boys and industry and conscientiousness from girls. If anything, it is an argument for and not against co-education for a diffusion of these qualities among the sexes is highly desirable.

It is agreed further that the broad lines of the curricula of the boys' and girls' secondary schools should be the same except that boys should take a course in some form of handicraft while girls study some form of housecraft. Even in Bengal in the New Syllabus we have made some provision for that and it should not be difficult for the mixed school to arrange separate classes for these purposes. As a matter of fact every large school, though confined to one sex, seeks to meet demands for variety—some boys want to be engineers, others to study languages and so forth: some again are backward while others press on rapidly. The presence of girls merely makes demands for qualifications in some of the women members of the staff to teach special subjects such as domestic science, fine arts, etc.

This brings me to one really very important feature of the co-education school which is fundamental if its success is to be ensured, *i.e.*, the staff should not be confined to one sex but be a mixed one. It does not matter very much what should be the proportion of men and women in the staff; it is better no doubt if it is well balanced but no great harm if it is not. It is imperative however that there must be some women on the staff not only to teach certain specific subjects but to understand the girls' points of view and help them to tide over their special difficulties.

The other arguments against co-education that it will effeminate the men and coarsen the women, that it will crush out love and romance from life, that there will be no discipline but perfect chaos in schools, etc., have been repeatedly disproved. The only objection that still remains is one of prejudice which shuts its eyes against inconvenient facts.

Co-education has become a living issue in India and particularly in Bengal. All the forces working in the country are making for a phenomenal transformation in the status of woman and the urgent need of her education. The greatest obstacles to women's progress and education in India have been social. They are, I am glad to say, crumbling down one by one. Instead of being generally hostile, men are now friendly to the education of their womenfolk. Purdah is quickly disappearing, the age of marriage has been pushed up by the Sarda Act. Women are gradually being released from the bondage of social fetters and coming to be recognised as partners in the home and the commonwealth. This is a movement of no small consequence for it entails and demands the education of women as a necessary corollary. It is a patent fact that the separate institutions for girls either at the elementary stage or at the secondary stage are inadequate for their needs and considering the ridiculously low amount of money that is being spent on girls' education compared to the disproportionate expenditure on boys' education, there is no chance of our furnishing the institutions required very soon. That is the argument of those who put it on grounds of economy and convenience. But I have put it on other grounds as well. What is our answer to the ever increasing demand of women for education ? Only a reluctant and practically a forced concession of the practice of co-education in *the elementary stage.* Sir George Anderson points out in the last Quinquennial Report on Indian Education that there is no alternative in the elementary stage between co-education and no education. This is a grudging recognition which is born of considerations of expediency and convenience and which totally ignores its possibilities as a great moral, social and intellectual influence. There is a growing demand for co-education in Bengal *at the secondary stage,* especially in the *moffasil* and in rural areas where there are no separate girls' schools. But such is our habit of perpetual distrust of childhood and youth that we have said an emphatic 'no' to such a revolutionary demand. The Syndicate of the Calcutta University passed a resolution some time ago putting an embargo on co-education in boys' schools beyond the age of ten. This is certainly a retrograde step and would retard the progress of women's secondary education in the province. If not on other grounds, at least on the ground that the marriagable age of girls has been raised to 14, the University ought to lift the ban. Under the present arrangements there are hundreds of girls in the villages whose education would be cut off at 10. The University should certainly insist on certain safeguards in the shape of a mixed staff, differentiation in the curriculum, etc., as a condition precedent to recognition of co-educational schools but it should not brush aside the whole question.

The objection is sometimes brought forward that it is not sanctioned by social usage in India. People forget that there is a considerable amount of co-education going on in the country at the present moment. There are nearly 2,000 girls in boys' secondary schools and about 300 women in men's colleges at the present moment in Bengal. The corresponding figures for Madras and Bombay are higher. Is it anybody's case that there is a moral debacle in the girls and women who study at boys' and men' institutions? The Scottish Church College under the wise guidance of Dr. Urquhart has been trying for some years now the experiment of co-education at the most difficult period of adolescence, from 15 onwards. Has there been anything but a chorus of praise for his work? I am glad he is himself here to testify as to how women have always conducted themselves with great dignity, how their presence has been a refining influence upon the whole college, and has served as a challenge to the spirit of chivalry and good manners of our young men to which they have responded in a most splendid way. Aren't these young men and women coming together in debates, socials, the various college societies and participating in all the activities of the college union that constitute the real joy of college life and making their sex adjustments under conditions of wise superintendence and guidance? Could there be the faintest shadow of a doubt that the tragic dualism in Indian life to-day, the misunderstanding and the incompatibility of points of view, would gradually disappear if they are allowed to associate on terms of equality and friendship. We have a long and fine tradition of co-education, no doubt on a small scale, in Ancient India extending up to the period of the famous Universities of Nalanda and Vikramasila that flourished still in the 11th century, and the inherent sense of chivalry and respect the Indian youth has towards the opposite sex is the surest guarantee of the success of the system. Only the attitude of distrust should be definitely abandoned and replaced by an enlightened vision and a policy of sympathy and guidance. Education will never be of value until it begins to concern itself more with life than with learning. The need is for a new conception of the meaning of education; a new sense of values—not examination-paper values but life values.[1]

Calcutta.

---

[1] Adapted by the author from his address delivered at the Rotary Club, Calcutta.

NILAKANTHA AND MITRA-MIŚRA, TWO HINDU POLITICAL PHILOSOPHERS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR, M.A.
Department of Economics and Commerce, Calcutta University.

A SEVENTEENTH century *nibandha* (digest) writer on *nitisastra* is Nilakantha the jurist (*c.* 1610-1645). His patron was Bhagavantadeva, a Bundella ruler with capital at Bhareha near the confluence of the Jumna and the Chambal.[1] It is to be observed that even now Nilakantha is held very high as jurist in Bombay, especially in the Maratha country. As his dates make him a contemporary of Jahangir, Shahjahan and Shivaji his work on *rajaniti* possesses a special value as throwing light on the intellectual ferment of that great epoch of new political movements.

The *Nitimayukha* [2] is described in the colophon as a part of the larger work *Bhagavad-bhaskara*. The author Nilakantha describes himself there as well as at the commencement as the son of Sankara Bhatta the Mimamsa scholar. There is no reference to his patron. He says only that *rajaniti* is *nripadrita, i.e.*, appreciated by kings.

The work is small in size and its contents can be seen in the following account:

1. Invocation. 2. The Category *Rajan*. 3. The Consecration, described with verses from the *Visnudharmottara Purana, Devi Purana, Brihat Samhita*, etc., as well as with a lengthy extract (prose) from the *Gopatha Brahmana* (pp. 7-42). 4. The *Saptamaga*. 5. The King's duties, described with long quotations from Kamandaka among others, *e. g.,* Manu and Yajnavalkya. The *Nitisastra* is also cited without Kamandaka's name. 6. The Eighteen Vices of Kings. In this section also Kamandaka and *Nitisara* loom large. Varahamihira and Manu are cited among others. 7. The Daily Time-Table. 8. The Court of Justice. 9. Meals. The examination of food with reference to poison is described on the strength of verses from Kamandaka, Narada, and others, 10. Hunting. In this section Kamandaka is the

---

[1] Kane, *History of Dharmasastras* (Poona 1930), Vol. I, pp. 438-440.

[2] Text edited by M. G. Bakre and V. R. Lele (Bombay 1921) without preface.

chief authority. In regard to hunting on land Nilakantha once mentions Chanakya. 11. Evening Functions. 12. Policy. Nilakantha follows Manu who says that persons other than Brahmans also can be appointed as councillors and officers (p. 59). 13. Officers and Servants. Kamandaka is the chief authority. The *Mahabharata* is also quoted. There are two verses from Chanakya.

14. The *Gunas* (military attitudes), described virtually on the sole authority of Kamandaka. 15. The Sphere of Twelve Kings (*Dvadasarajamandala*). Nilakantha's authorities are Manu and Yajnavalkya. He has a verse from the *Rajamanasollasa*. But it is strange that his favourite author Kamandaka who is an authority on the doctrine of *mandala* has been ignored by him in connection with this important topic. Nilakantha has, however, thrown some fresh light on the kinds of friends, foes, etc. Each has to be taken as falling into three classes, says he (p. 67). The first is the *sahaja* (natural) friend or foe, coming from among intimate relatives. The *kritrima* friend or foe is one who because of benefits rendered or injuries inflicted by either side becomes friendly or inimical. The third class of friends, foes, etc., is called the *prakrita*. It comprises those states which are technically known as friends, foes, etc., on account of their territorial or geographical propinquity, The neighbour being the enemy, the one next to the neighbour being the friend and so on.

16. The Ministers, among whom the son is included. Kamandaka is the chief authority. 17. The Friend. 18. The Treasure. Varahamihira, the *Mahabharata* and Kamandaka are quoted. 19. The Country and the people. 20. Forts. 21. The Army. Varahamihira, Magha, Kamandaka, and the *Mahabharata* are the authorities. 22. Elephants. Four pages are devoted to this animal. The only authority quoted is Varahamihira. 23. Horses, described on the strength of Varahamihira. 24. The Representative or Ambassador. 25. The Spy. Kamandaka is the authority for these two sections. 26. The Expeditions and omens relating thereto. Varahamihira is quoted. 27. The Camping. 28. The General. Kamandaka is the chief authority in regard to these two items. 29. *Kutayuddha* (unfair war), *i.e.*, with forbidden *e.g.* poisoned weapons and other forms of generally forbidden things are justified under certain circumstances. The authorities are Kamandaka, Manu, Katyayana and Brihaspati. 30. Exhortation to war. This is a rather lengthy chapter for this book of short chapters. Varahamihira,

Yogayatra, *Mahabharata*, Parasara, *Gita*, Manu, *Narayana*, Samkha are quoted to show that even a sinner goes to heaven if he dies in the battlefield, etc. (pp. 101-108). 31. Game.

The *Nitimayukha* is virtually an abridgment of the *Kamandakiniti*. It is interesting that Nilakantha has not quoted *Puranas* among his authorities in an appreciable manner. The *Visnudharmottara* has been mentioned rather sparingly. He is especially interested in Varahamihira and quotes the earlier *Dharmasastras*, especially, Manu and Yajnavalkya. One can say that he is trying to revive the past. His atmosphere is that of a classicist. He is not interested in the latter-day writers. For all practical purposes his authorities belong mostly to the Gupta period.

An entirely new *milieu* is furnished by his contemporary, Mitra-Misra, another Northerner like himself. Mitra-Misra is a " modernist." To him the past has virtually buried its dead. He appreciates as a rule all those literary men who have risen in post-classic ages and written for their generations. The classics he does not hate. But he does not make any special propaganda in their favour. To him the *Puranas* embody the spirit of the age, and in the *Puranas* he sees the classics reborn or reinterpreted, modernized and popularized. Mitra-Misra's work enables us to feel the breath of the generation in which he lives.

The *Rajanitiprakasa* or Mitra-Misra[1] is another "virtually" dated work because its author is known in the colophons (pp. 195-96, 463) to have been associated as scholar with the court of Virasimhadeva (reigned 1605-1627), son of Madhukarasaha, and grandson of Maharajadhiraja Prataparudra, King of Orchcha. The work then belongs to the first half of the seventeenth century and points to the philosophical and cultural *milieu* of the Hindus in the most brilliant epoch of the great Moghuls. From the dates given about King Virasimhadeva it is clear that his reign coincided from beginning to end with the Imperial rule of Jahangir (1605-27). Akbar died, be it noted, in 1606. We are told that Mitra-Misra was "ordered " (*ajnapto*) by Virasimha to prepare the *nibandha* called *Viramitrodaya* (p. 8). But whether it was completed by 1627 we do not know. Besides, the *Viramitrodaya* is an encyclopaedic work like Hemadri's *Chaturvarga-chintamani* and is a compendium on the most diverse branches of law.

---

[1] Lala Sitaram, " Bir Sing Deo" (*Calcutta Review*, May and July, 1924).

The *Rajanitiprakasa* is a part of this encyclopaedia and, as the title implies, deals with public law. The order in which the different portions were composed cannot yet be ascertained. It is not improbable that the volume *Rajanitiprakasa* as well as some other volumes, were composed after Virasimha's and Jahangir's time, *i.e.*, during the Imperial rule of Shahjahan (1627-1658). In any case the *Viramitrodaya* is associated with the glorious age of Indo-Saracenic Renaissance, one of the greatest epochs of world culture.

The *Rajanitigrakasa* * is a bulky volume of 493 pages none of which are requisitioned by footnotes. From the standpoint of size it is as large as the *Kautaliya Arthasastra* and the *Sukranitisara*, if not larger. It is perhaps the most extensive treatise on politics in Hindu literature.

Incidentally be it observed that the *Rajanitiprakasa* is described as *ruchira* (beautiful) by the author while mentioning (p. 8) that it has been prepared by him under command of Virasimha, "the ornament or jewel of kings" (*ksitipatitilaka*).

There is no table of contents or preface published by the editor Pandit Visnu Prasad with the text. The more important topics can be seen however, in the following description :—

1. The King as a category (*rajasavda*) of political thought :—
    (i) any and every ruler or protector of people ? (*kimayam rajasavdo jasminkasminschit prajapalake vartate?*)
    (ii) or only a *ksatriya* ?
    (iii) or a consecrated *ksatriya?* (p. 10).
2. The Appreciation of Kingship. Mitra-Misra quotes the *Kalika Purana* which says that the king is the son of the sonless, the wealth of the unwealthy, the mother of the motherless, the father of the fatherless, the shelter or help of the unprotected, the husband of the husbandless, the servant of the servantless (*abhrityasya nripo bhrityah*) and the comrade of men (*nripo eva nrinam sakha*) (p. 30).
3. The Appropriate Time of Consecration.
4. The Successor to the State: the eldest son. No title of the other sons to the state. No partition of the state (p. 31).

---

* Text in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series (Benares 1916).

5. The Consecration ceremony, as described in the *Brahma Purana*, the *Ramayana*, *Visnudharmottara Purana*, *Vriddhavasistha Purana*, *Aitareya Brahmana*.
6. The Consecration hymn of the *Visnudharmottara*. The king is blest with the wish that he may enjoy the *prithivim samagram sasagaram* (entire world together with the seas) (p. 81).
7. The Monthly Ceremonies.
8. The Qualifications of kings.
9. The Duties of kings. Mitra-Misra quotes the *Visnudharmottara* to say that the king does not have to make up for the householder's losses caused by thieving in case the latter's servants are the thieves. The ruling is in modification of that of Yajnavalkya whose recommendation to the effect that the subjects are to be compensated by the king for their losses due to thieving is considered to be too universal (p. 127).
10. Things forbidden for kings.
11. The Daily Time-table.
12. The Annual Ceremonies.
13. The King's Assistants: the ministers, officials and servants.
14. The Residential Country, the Fort, the City.
15. Things to be stored in the fort. This lengthy section is derived from the *Matsyapurana* (pp. 206-13).
16. Town-planning, according to the *Devipurana*.
17. House-construction according to the *Matsyapurana*, *Asvalayana Grihyasutra*, *Visnudharmottara*.
18. Garden construction as recommended in the *Visnudharmottara*.
19. The Territory as one of the Seven Limbs.
20. The Treasure: This section dealing as it does with public finance is fairly lengthy and is derived from the *Visnudharmottara*, *Mahabharata*, *Manu*, *Gautama*, *Vrihaspati*, *Yajnavalkya*, *Vasistha* and so forth.
21. The Army.
22. The Ally.
23. The Four *Upayas* (Policies or Forms of Dealings with Enemies).
24. Punishment in one's own state as well as in the enemy's.
25. The Three Additional *Upayas* (*Upeksa*=Insult, *Maya*=Camouflage? *Indrajala*=magic).

26. Policy.
27. Energy (*Paurusa*).
28. Protection and Education of Princes.
29. Peace.
30. *Mandala* (or Sphere) of Twelve States (*Dvadasarajamandala*). According to Mitra-Misra the *vijigisu* is the prince bent on or starting on a career of conquest (*vijetumabhyudyata*). In his definition the *madhyama* is the one that is able to overpower both the *vijigisu* as well as his *ari* (enemy) as long as they are uncombined (*asamhatayor nigrahe*), *i.e.*, more powerful than either of the two. It is wrong, therefore, as has been usually done, to describe the *madhyama* as the medium or the middling power. The *udasina* as defined by Mitra-Misra is more powerful than each of the three states—the *vijigisu*, the *ari*, and the *madhyama*. He is such that he can subdue these three as long as they remain ununited (*asamhatanam nigrahasamartha*) (pp. 320-320).
31. The Six Attitudes or Measures *vis-a-vis* the enemy (*Sadgunya*).
32. Expeditions.
33. Dreams in connection with expeditions.
34. The War hymns in "consecration" of the umbrella, horse, flag, elephant, dagger, leather, drum, bow, etc.
35. Auspicious signs and inauspicious omens in connection with expeditions.
36. The *Jayabhiseka* (victory-sacrifice, to be undertaken on the eve of the expedition. The ceremony is calculated to ward off unnatural death, *i.e.*, death in the battle-field and ensure the conquest of all enemies. This is the lengthiest section in the *Rajanitiprakasa*, and is derived from the *Lingapurana*.
37. The Troop-formations for the Expeditions.
38. The Duties in war. The *Mahabharata* is quoted to show that the Brahmana also has to fight. Devala is quoted to impress upon the soldiers that death in battle leads at once to heaven.
39. The Duties of the conqueror *vis-a-vis* the conquered.
40. Festivals and religious ceremonies during the fourth month while in foreign territories.
41. *Indradhajochchhraya* (festival in honour of Indra).

42. *Nirajanasanti* (festival to celebrate the peace).
43. Worship of Kali.
44. *Lohabhisarika.* } Post-war festivals.
45. *Gavotsarga* } Post-war festivals.
46. *Vasudhara* } Post-war festivals.
47. *Satrunasana* } Post-war festivals.
48. Miscellaneous. The Teachings of Vidura in the *Mahabharata.*

Mitra-Misra's references, are varied. In erudition and scholarship he is not to be beaten either by Hemadri or by Chandesvara (thirteenth-fourteenth century). It is perhaps worth while to mention that he attaches great importance to the *Puranas*. The *Visnudharmottara Purana* has commanded his special attention. Evidently in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries this *Purana* held a very high place in the intellectual and social life of India.

Like all other *nibandhas* the *Rajanitiprakasa* is a compilation or digest of original texts. It is not a commentary on a text although it is once in a while furnished with explanations of words or phrases. Thus considered, the author or compiler of the *Viramitrodaya* may be taken to have contributed nothing to political science or to the other hranches of law summarised in his encyclopaedia.

But it is interesting here to recall that all those treatises on *Dharma*, *Artha* or *Kama* which are known to be " original " as the works composed by an individual master or his followers (school) almost invariably describe themselves as summaries or compilations of the works written by previous sages. The place of "old masters" is an inevitable item in the history of Indian thought. Once we are adequately oriented to this item we should be careful not to make any great fuss about the problem of originality or the alleged author's own contribution in Hindu *sastras*. In other words, a *nibandha*, nay, a *bhasya* is not virtually to be treated as less original than the work on which the *bhasya* is written or on the basis of which the *nibandha* is compiled. Should the statements of the authors about their borrowings, compilations or summaries from "old masters" be taken at their face value, and not to be treated as occasioned by mock modesty or perhaps excessive indulgence in genuine humility, we have only to take them essentially as *nibandhas* although they have not cared to quote the texts *verbatim* such as has been done by the writers of *nibandhas* in so many words. A man like Hemadri, Chandesvara or Mitra-Misra could easily have paraphrased in his own language all the texts he has reproduced with just an indication as to the source in the form of *iti Manuh, iti Agnih* and so forth. In that case they might have acquired the same place *proforma* in the imagination of the reading public as, say, Kautalya, Manu, Kamandaka, Brihaspati, Sukra and others.

In connection with the *Rajanitiprakasa* Mitra-Misra has shown as keen interest and as laborious research as Kautalya and Sukra in connection with their treatises. He has not tried to skip over the problems in a hurried manner. In detail he is plentiful. Whenever necessary he is prepared to enter into controversies, *i.e.*, quote original texts from the most heterogeneous sources. Although by profession a " mere scholar " or *Pandit* he is a practical man and writes with an eye to the utility of his *ruchira* (beautiful) science. He knows that his work is to be used by rulers, ministers, generals and statesmen. In regard to the questions of war and peace he is a *pucca* Brahmana and continues the tradition of the greatest of the Brahmanas since the Vedic ages, in so far as he considers them to be the most profound concerns of daily life. He has not, therefore, indulged in platitudes. Foreign policy, diplomacy, international relations,—these are the topics in which every Brahmana philosopher of politics from the earliest times has exhibited his *forte* as statesman and aye, as *Pandit* or scholar. And Mitra-Misra is a redoubtable " chip of the old block." Fifty per cent. of the huge volume (pp. 248-493) he has consecrated to the profoundest reality of *saptamga* and organized existence, namely, to foreign relations, and every word in these chapters has a message to all,—the ruler and the subjects,—as to the " duty that lies nearest thee."

As a writer on positive morality and secular happiness and as one endowed with hardheaded mastery over the realities of earthly life nobody is a greater man than Mitra-Misra in the entire range of Hindu culture. The seventeenth century is a great period of Hindu creativeness in the field of life's joys and worldly endeavours. In the *Rajanitiprakasa* we understand not only that the best of Hindu tradition was being maintained through the *Puranas* but also that Mitra-Misra himself knew which to select and which to propagate in the interests of his own generation. In this selective work he has really functioned as a creator, an original thinker, a man who knows that he has to remake the personality of his contemporaries, to reconstruct the Hindu states, and to "whip the country into shape." Mitra-Misra deserves the same recognition in the annals of Hindu life and thought as Ramdas the *guru* of Shivaji (1627-1680). It is strange that such a work as the *Rajanitiprakasa* should have remained virtually unused in indology although it undoubtedly is one of the masterpieces of Hindu intellectual activity, albeit, be it observed once more, it is but a *nibandha* or digest.

Mitra-Misra is a Northerner from the "Middle-West" and is a most distinguished representative of the so-called Benares school. But his writings were not confined to any particular Indian region. The *Rajanitiprakasa* like the other parts of the *Viramitrodaya* was read throughout India. And it is the generation of *Pandits* or scholars nurtured on the great Mitra-Misra's teachings on the "politics of boundaries" and the theory of international relations (*dvadasarajamandalam*) that may be easily taken to have constituted the Brahmanic *milieu* that furnished the spiritual background of the still greater Shivaji's exploits in the Maratha country. Mitra-Misra wrote for a great age and for the most momentous issues and he was quite up to the needs and requirements of the generation that looked up to him for guidance. With him the *Rajanitiprakasa* is not an archaeological study or a dissertation of antiquarian research but an instrument of futurism, an agency in the remaking of the present. Nilakantha has not indeed omitted any important chapters but his archaeological spirit acts as a damper on the reader and one feels that he is not in touch with the times. And because Mitra-Misra has produced a voluminous work, the fullness of details and the diversity of viewpoints presented by him possess a charm of their own such as is entirely lacking in the almost niggardly manner in which Nilakantha has gone to business with political science.

The special importance attached by Mitra-Misra to the *Puranas* has rendered him quite acceptable as an author even for the Hindus of the twentieth century. It is even possible to build up a twentieth century school of Indian political theory on the foundations of Mitra-Misra. For the Hindus of today the *Puranas* represent the spirit of newspapers and journals, so to say, *i.e.*, the most familiar practical and life-serving literature conceivable. Manu and Yajnavalkya are authorities still by all means. But they are somewhat "archaic" and uncouth. They are respected, nay, perhaps, adored,—but from a distance. But in regard to the *Puranas* the attitudes and feelings of the Hindus are far otherwise. They are direct, personal, friendly.

The *Puranas* are the manuals for the man in the bazar. In so far as the *Rajanitiprakasa* is nurtured mainly on the *Puranas*, the folk-literature, so to say of Hindu India, we breathe in it a comradely atmosphere and through it come into contact with a democratic paraphernalia, the mass mind. Mitra-Misra as the author of this *liaison* between the folk and political *sastra* can therefore still be the starting point of new superstructures constructed in accordance with the novel requirements of intercourse between the East and the West.

In Mitra-Misra's hands political science did not remain the preserve of high-brows. It became attractive to the people, a philosophy in which the people might see reviewed some of their own categories of daily life. *Nitisastra* was thus brought into the market place. No matter what his views regarding the folk *vis-a-vis* the king happened to be, his very equipment as a literary workman served to make of him, unconsciously perhaps, a spokesman of the folk, a philosophical leader of the masses.

The position may be understood if we take a simple analogy from modern conditions. An Indian author to-day who writes in Bengali, Hindi, Marathi, Telugu, Tamil or Urdu is automatically taken as a man of the people, a representative of the people's aspirations, although he may not be writing specifically on the folk-interests. The contrast between such a writer and one who writes in a foreign tongue places him in bold relief in the folk imagination. The use of the mother-tongue, the language of the folk, as the vehicle of literary contributions establishes at once a spiritual nexus between the author's work and the mass mind. Mitra-Misra's dependance on the *Puranas*, those encyclopaedic storehouses of world-culture for the folk, those products of the Hindu Home University Library, as it were, and his extensive utilization of the *Purana* texts in season and out of season have contributed to the establishment of *nitisastra* as a *vidya* of the people and for the people. And in this tremendous expansion of its influence as well as in the transformation of its character is to be seen one of the most phenomenal achievements of Mitra-Misra.

From Kautalya to Mitra-Misra we have a story of growth and progress in the annals of the world's philosophical evolution.

Calcutta.

SOME NOVELS OF RABINDRANATH.*

JAYANTAKUMAR DAS-GUPTA, M.A., PH.D. (LOND.).
Vice-Principal, Durbar College, Rewa State.

GHARE Baire (1918, English translation, *Home and the World,* 1919) is different from *Gora* in many respects.[1] The characters are not many and they speak for themselves The interest in this novel is both political and psychological. There is a good deal of politics in the story and it serves to heighten the complexity of the plot.

The heroine, Bimala, belonged to an orthodox family though her husband Nikhil was modernised. His friend Sandip was a political fire-brand and Nikhil had to supply money for all his patriotic schemes. Sandip's political activities brought Bimala out of her home into the outer world of Nikhil's drawing room. Sandip was a shrewd man and he appealed to Bimala's vanity as a woman. In his hyperbolical adulation of Bimala there was some sex-appeal. She understood it quite well and knew that it might lead to her ruin. She became a tool in his unscrupulous hands. She began to think that the interests of the country were above everything else. Gradually Nikhil meant very little to her. Her life was shattered to pieces. But all was not lost. Bimala passed through the fire of life and gained her place once more. It is left unsaid whether there was a re-union between husband and wife. But one takes it for granted that in her hour of tribulation when he comes home mortally wounded she gets back what had almost slipped out of her hands.

Bimala is the centre of the novel. Round her are woven the threads of the story. She had been happily married for nine years and though her husband did not conform to her ideal picture of a prince, her greatest pleasure was in thinking that her true place was at his feet. Her husband did not allow her any opportunity for that worship. Cowards demand worship from their wives. Such a thing is an insult both to the husband and the wife. Nikhil used to say that man and woman had equal claims on each other and they had equal relations in love. But Bimala was of opinion that woman's love became greater through reverence. It is not conducive to happiness if a woman thinks that she has the power to captivate man. Her pride must have its basis in adoration.

---

* Continued from our previous issue.

[1] Originally published in *Sabuj Patra,* Vol. II, 1915; English translation, *At Home and Outside* by Surendranath Tagore appeared in the *Modern Review,* 1918.

Bimala was regarded as shamelessly artificial by her sisters-in-law. She once said, " The mind of woman is very small, it is crooked." Her husband replied, " The feet of Chinese women are small, they are also crooked. Society has cramped the mind of our woman from all sides and made it narrow. Fate is gambling with their lives—they have no rights of their own." Bimala again said, " Woman do not like to admit the truth, they just feign." Nikhil replied, "It means that they are the worst deprived." He never pressed her to come out into the outside world. He was waiting for the day when she would herself do it. Eventually she did come out. But her character underwent a change since she came under the influence of Sandip. She had the heart of a woman, naturally inclined to love and worship. Her husband did not give her an opportunity to raise him to the level of a divinity. He loved to decorate her body just as if it were a flower of paradise, he loved her nature as if it were his good fortune. But " love is inclined to grow its flowers in the dust of the wayside, it cannot show its treasures in drawing room vases."

The moment Sandip addressed her as the beautiful goddess of fire that destroys the home and the world she began to change. She did not notice that the greatest bond of her life was slowly being sundered. She was too much engrossed in other things to understand that she was losing the most valuable things of her life. She began to take interest in what modern European thinkers write about sex-relations. She understood that Sandip desired her and she felt a curiosity to probe the hidden desires of this man. Sandip told her that there was something in woman for which man could defy life and death and that was not to be veiled in the inner apartments. Her mind was in turmoil. She forgot that she was Bimala. She thought that she was without any fetters, she was a force, she was beauty, everything was possible with her and at her touch things would be created anew. But before her husband she looked insignificant. She had to add to her toilet before she could ask him any favours. He was indifferent like the desert sky. Often she returned from him baffled. She had been permitted to do as she liked but she could not live in that freedom. She was like a creature hypnotised by a ghost which had appeared before her as the country, as Sandip, as her heaven. Therefore under his influence she stole money. Words of flattery had become the joy of her existence. She lived upon them only. But as soon as Sandip began to taunt her she came back to realities, her deliverance was getting nearer. Sandip's exit from her life was as dramatic as its entrance. Thus age after age in the life of men and women Sandip comes as an evil star and leaves behind him disorder and wreckage.

Sandip was greedy, cold by nature, though keen in intelligence. An opportunist, his principle in life was self-gratification. He believed in force, in getting and grabbing things and in destruction. Nikhil believed in sacrifice, Sandip in conquest. Sandip was a realist and Nikhil was an idealist. Sandip believed that women were also realists and ideas meant nothing to them. Men were merely caught in their traps and they had to be charming to men. He hated school-masters, while Nikhil was like a well-tutored school-boy. [1] Nikhil placed man above everything else, while Sandip was always trying to lower man. To him desire was everything in life and to think in that way was to be " modern." But really his manliness was a mere frothy excitement on the surface. He used to say to Bimala that to hesitate was not the nature of woman, she does not look to the right nor to the left, she looks straight ahead. When the women of the country would rise they would emphatically say, " We want " and before that demand everything else would have to give way. " I want " according to Sandip was the main factor in creation. He wanted Bimala but there was some hesitation in it. His mind played with the dangerous doctrine that this hesitation had prevented Ravana from bringing Sita to his inner apartments and she too suffered from the same spirit of hesitation.[2] Sandip was by nature a cruel man and cruelty to him was the natural power.

The keynote to Sandip's character is his inordinate vanity. He lived in a world of egoism. He regarded himself as one ordained to deliver the message of something great. He was the chosen, the elect, the anointed. He was above ordinary human beings. Such was his vanity. He had no shame, he had no scruples. There was nothing moral about him. He believed in realism, in not playing hide and seek. He thought that women were created for heroes like him and not for thin idealists like Nikhil. To him conquest by unlawful means was perfectly honest. He regarded sex attraction as a real thing but somehow or other it was placed in the background by society due to conventions. He wanted not only political freedom, but also freedom in human relationship. Because he regarded himself as an extraordinary man he preached the doctrine of that which was not right. His philosophy was that when a man or a nation is incapable of doing that which is not right he or it has no place in the world. But in spite of his pose as a realist he too could not entirely get rid of ideas. His way lay not through the backdoor of the inner apartments, it was the way of the crowd. He thought that Bimala was attracted by his straightforward manliness. What fond ideas men cherish about themselves ! To himself he was a mystery and therefore he had such illusions. He thought of bringing Bimala into the outside world merely because he belonged to the male sex. Woman has always surrendered herself to man. To accept is the lot of man and to give that of woman. This arrogant man had his own arrogant philosophy. At times he could act in such a dramatic way that his movements seemed to be sincere. He was with the messenger of some deadly pestilence. At his approach madness came but men regarded that madness as life and with that false notion stepped into the abyss of darkness. Sandip could not save others, he had to save himself. The coward retired cringing and crest-fallen.

---

[1] *Cf.*, Rabindranath on School Masters, *Modern Review*, October, 1924; The Parrot's Training, *Modern Review*, 1918.

[2] Amarendranath Ray, *Rabiyana* (pp. 77-79), criticises Tagore for this remark. But does he not write in *Creative Unity* of Sabitri and Sita (p. 163) and of Indian ideals in *Samaj* (*Chithi-patra*) ?

Nikhil was a contrast to Sandip. He had interested himself as a college student in improving the agricultural, industrial and financial needs of the country but all his efforts had met with failure.[1] He accepted the *Bande Mataram* doctrine with some reservation. He would worship something which was far superior to the country. Truth he was not prepared to sacrifice at the cost of anything. He mostly disagreed with Sandip in political matters. Nothing could be forced upon the country. Unless people of their own accord accepted the principles of boycott and *Swadeshi* it would be futile to force these upon them. The rule of fear was no rule at all. It degenerated man more and more.

---

[1] *Cf. My Reminiscences*, Ch. 41.

Nikhil was an idealist. But his idealism was more passive than active. He knew that the presence of Sandip meant danger but he felt some delicacy in asking his friend to go away. The impression that one derives of him is that he was too good a man, little understood by others and he meant no ill to anybody. Men like him are not destined to do anything great or remarkable. They often suffer in their heart of hearts, keeping their grief to themselves, maligned, misrepresented and misjudged. One feels that to some extent Nikhil is a portrait of Ṛabindranath himself who is often misunderstood both at home and abroad.[1] The clatter and bustle with which Sandip carried on his political mission was hateful to Nikhil.[2] Sandip wanted to make a bonfire of all foreign clothes. To Nikhil it meant unnecessary waste and excitement. He was against the segregation of his country from the rest of the world. It was an age when all the countries of the world were bound up with another. In his conception of patriotism there was no place for hatred. In the name of the country Nikhil would not try to pass off irreligion and unrighteouness.[3]

India to Nikhil did not mean merely the India of the respectable people. He knew perfectly well that as the lower classes in Indian society were decaying it meant death and degeneration for the country. The country meant to him not merely its geographical boundaries or physical aspects, it meant also the inhabitants.[4] Nikhil was averse to any sort of falsehood and irregular method. He felt that a poisonous atmosphere hung over the country and the man of ideas had to fight in removing that atmosphere. He believed that for truth man dies and becomes immortal. If the Indian nation dies for truth it will become immortal in the history of mankind.

---

[1] *Cf.* "I am afraid I shall be rejected by my own people when I go back to India. My solitary cell is awaiting me in my motherland. In their present state of mind, my own countrymen will have no patience with me, who believe God to be higher than my country." —*Letters from Abroad*, p. 66.

[2] *Cf.* "My mind refused to respond to the cheap intoxication of the political movements of those days, devoid, as they seemed, of all strength of national consciousness, with their complete ignorance of the country, their supreme indifference to real service of the motherland."—*My Reminiscences*, p. 269. Also : The short story "*Namanjur*" in which Tagore depreciates the hollowness of political agitations.

[3] *Cf.* "To me, humanity is rich and large and many-sided. Therefore I feel deeply hurt when I find that for some material gain, man's personality is mutilated in the western world and he is reduced to a machine. The same process of repression and curtailment of humanity is often advocated in our country under the name of patriotism. Such deliberate impoverishment of our nature seems to me a crime.—*Letters from Abroad*, pp. 56-57.

[4] *Cf.* "I love India, but my India is an idea and not a geographical expression, and therefore, I am not a patriot, and I shall ever seek my compatriots all over the world.—Letters from the Atlantic, *Modern Review*, January, 1922.

Nikhil did not think that desire was everything. Self-control was something important. He thought that it was better to laugh away life than to cry over it. Man would not be able to live if all the woes of the world are regarded by him as his own. To Nikhil his wife was very dear. He could not bring her down to the dust of the world. She was to him everything that was sweet and holy. But if she refused to regard herself as his wife he would have to withdraw. He would suffer but neither he nor the world would be poorer. Man is greater than all that he loses in life. So long he had clothed his wife in some ideals and adored her. He was prepared for untold misery and would welcome it as the means of deliverance. He would know both the home and the world. A new life would then begin for him. Something often whispered to him that although he would forget everything else after death the remembrance of the kiss of his beloved would survive birth after birth. It was like the "undying flame of light in the bridal chamber, the kiss on the night of union."

Nikhil suffered alone.[1] Only his sister-in-law guessed the sorrow he was passing through.[2] Gradually it dawned upon him that the life of man was vast and it was broader than the joys and sorrows of union and separation of men and women. His aim in life had been side-tracked because he was too much engrossed with his wife. The result was that he had failed to understand life, understand man. But he had to find out the truth however unpleasant it might be to him. At times he felt terribly alone. This sense of loneliness weighed upon his mind.[3] In the crowded world when man feels alone that loneliness is terrible. It was a sort of nightmare when even the familiar became strange to him. But the inner man in him said that even if Bimala of the illusions went out of his life he would suffer in no way. He felt that he could not bring any one back from the way of death. He had tried to make Bimala conform to his wishes but she had her own ideas. The gulf between them had become wide and how could it be bridged ?

---

[1] *Cf.* " When a material body breaks it may be put together again. But when two human beings are divided, after a long separation, they never reunite at the same place, and at the same time ; for the mind is a living thing and moment by moment it grows and changes.' '—*Mashi and other Stories*, p. 128.

[2] There is personal touch in it. *My Reminiscences*, p. 263.

[3] *Cf.* " The hidden clash of a silent conflict like this is far harder to bear than an open quarrel.—*Mashi and other Stories*, p. 131, referring to the breach between Sasikala and her husband.

Through trials and tribulations Nikhil passed on to the realisation of truth. The store of the goddess of giving is inexhaustible. Therefore she finds delight in breaking human hearts. Nikhil did not care to look back to the past. To him had come the great truth that the deliverance that came through sorrow was greater than sorrow itself. He had tried to fashion Bimala according to his own ideas without letting her personality develop itself. Her life had been repressed. But he would no longer bind the companion of his life with chains of ideas. There would merely be love in their lives and in that love she would develop herself. In the narrower sphere of her life Bimala had not been able to see the outer world in the proper perspective. She had to see the world, man and man's sphere of activity before she could understand what really the outside world was. It was through love that she could do it.

Critics have not been able to do full justice to this novel. Some regard it as " the best picture of Bengal's time of political awakening." It should be added that it is not merely that but something more. It is a picture of human souls in clash with ideas. Some of them were gripped by these ideas and had no way of escape. Others who were not overcome with the ferocity of realities came out with bitter experience. One critic suggests that the book is a call from the outside world to those who are living a closed life.[1] The " home " and the " world " both existed in Bimala's mind. Sandip's lectures tried to bring her out into the reality of things. A woman who had lived in the inner apartments practically in ease and luxury Bimala could not naturally keep her balance. The world that Sandip pictured before her was not the world that she knew. Hence came her unhappiness.

It has been asked whether Rabindranath had any aim in writing this novel.[2] Whatever might have been in Tagore's mind it should be regarded as a mere story though it is not improbable that contemporary experiences have influenced Rabindranath. Some people are inclined to think that in this novel the author had in mind some particular political leader whose activities he was exposing.[3] To this criticism Tagore himself has furnished a reply and that reply should set at rest all guesses and conjectures.[4] Judged as a work of art *Ghare Baire* is more a novel of ideas than one of incidents or characters. In the whirlpool of ideas and the mazes of Sandip's endless talk the characters do not find ample scope for development. The same drawback applies to the incidents.

---

[1] *Sabujpatra*, Vol. IV.

[2] *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 520 ff.

[3] *Modern Review*, November, 1919, pp. 543 ff.

[4] *Modern Review*, January, 1920, p. 87.

The best of Tagore as a story-teller is in the short stories.[1] The success that he achieved within a limited space could not possibly be achieved in a diffused sphere. Thoughts are likely to run astray there. Herein lies both the strength and weakness of a writer. The facility with which he can use a bigger ground for his work might often stand in the way of his doing proper justice to characters, incidents and ideas in a restricted space. On the other hand, a limited field might stand as a block to the craftsmanship of a writer. *War and Peace, Forsyte Saga* and *John Christopher* might still rank as great novels with some of the chapters left out. But a short story of Tchechov or Rabindranath would lose much of its beauty and artistic charm even if a paragraph were to be omitted from it. The line of distinction is very thin between what is essential and what is not essential in a novel. Ideas without style, style without ideas, plot without characters, character without a good plot would surely make an unsuccessful novel. The art of the novelist is an exacting one. It is the genius of a great writer which can combine all the qualities that go to the making of a good novelist. Rabindranath's novels do not always please his readers. Either his ideas find too much prominence in them or these ideas are of such abstruse nature that the reader is easily tired. The plot therefore drags on wearily and the easy flow again and again meets with some obstacle. Sometimes Rabindranath allows his ideas to get the better of his function as a novelist. His natural bent of mind is philosophic and poetical. But too much of these is likely to create difficulties for a novelist. When he turned his attention to the writing of novels Bankimchandra ceased to write poetry. Sir Walter Scott's fame rests upon the *Waverley Novels* and not on the *Lady of the Lake* or the *Lay of the Last Minstrel.* It is not always that a good poet is a good novelist. The art of poetry and the art of fiction are rare combinations. But it is remarkable that a great poet like Rabindranath has written some novels which are not inconsiderable contributions to the literature of his country.

Calcutta. *Concluded.*

---

[1] Ernest Rhys, *Rabindranath Tagore*, Ch. V.

SIGNIFICANCE OF POLITICAL TRENDS IN THE FAR EAST.

TARAKNATH DAS, A.M., PH.D.
Special Lecturer in Far Eastern Affairs, The Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.

I

IT is my desire to present a bare outline of fundamental ideals that are influencing the politics in the region that is generally known as the Far East *i.e.*, Eastern Asia. I shall also include India as a part of this region. Eastern Asia contains about half the population of the world ; and therefore political developments in this region have a special world significance.

I have to ask my readers to forget for the moment the preconceived notions cherished and taught in the West that there is fundamental difference between the East and the West—difference in human institutions, mental processes and even human anatomy of the people of the East and the West. To be sure there is the difference of colour ; and the colour-complex as well as race-complex has been playing havoc in regard to reasonings of scholars and legislators as well as laymen to such an extent that the index and standard of citizenship is now-a-days determined by the colour or racial origin of a man. Men of the type of the late Dr. Sun Yat Sen, the late Dr. Nitobe, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore are not eligible for citizenship in this great democracy of the United States of America, because Asiatics however qualified morally are not eligible for citizenship. We also know that a great scientist like Dr. Einstein is not eligible for citizenship in Germany, although he was born in that great country, because he is a non-Aryan. I ask my readers to forget this ideal of racial discriminations ; because unless one does so, one will not be able to appreciate the spirit behind the political aspirations of the peoples of the Far East. They want racial equality before law, so that they may not be regarded as inferior, in practice, by the dominant peoples of the West.

I wish to emphasise the point that the concept of a society and state, based upon the ideal of human welfare is not the monopoly of the modern western nations, which are after all comparatively newcomers in the arena of world civilizations. *The idea that is emphasised by western scholars in general, with the exception of a microscopic minority, is that the only form of Government that is traditional and suited to the people of the oriental countries is autocracy ; and therefore the term "oriental despotism" is generally used to characterise any form of absolutism of a ruler or a ruling class.* May I say that the people of the Orient,—in India, China and Japan in particular—had their political institutions which grew up with the ideal of the good of the people at large. I readily recognise that the conception of " the good of the people " has changed in course of time all over the world ; for instance there was a time, in the United States as well as all over the occident, when slavery was regarded as an institution needed for the promotion of civilization. Of course, political institutions of oriental countries had different forms in different periods of history of the country. For instance, large empires flourished in India and China ; there were city states with all attributes of small republics as well as their federations ; there were monarchies—benevolent and despotic—and even theocratic institutions of the Government of Japan. *To be sure there are tyrants in the Orient as there is no lack of despotism in the West and also of despotic rule of westerners who rule over oriental countries.*

Political scientists of the West generally ignore the necessity of comparative study of governmental institutions of the East and the West of the same period of history—such as those of ancient India with those of ancient Rome or Greece, and those of Europe of the Middle Ages and Feudal period with those of Asia of the same period. They find it convenient therefore to impress upon themselves and the rest of the world their superiority and excellence in governmental institutions. The "divine right of kingship" was well accepted in the West until very recently ; at the same time no great emphasis was placed on the political ideal of the obligations on the kings and ruling classes. Even the much vaunted Magna Charta was extracted by the combined pressure of the landed aristocracy upon the King and was not a charter of popular rights ; and until the French Revolution and the Declaration of American Independence, the ideal of democracy was rarely practised in the West. This was not the fault of the Western people ; but political institutions developed and changed to suit the growth of civilization and new conception of life, The Government of China and India, in the past, centred more in the villages ; and often it happened that the government of the country as a whole changed by a foreign invasion, but the people were not greatly disturbed and their village governments, which were somewhat democratic in spirit went on as usual. In this connection I also wish to make an observation that governmental institutions of a country may be indigenous or adaptations of institutions of other lands to suit certain conditions. The nations of the Orient are trying to adopt some phases of the institutions of the West ; this however should not be regarded as an evidence that the people of the Orient are inherently inferior to the peoples of the West, nor that their institutions were bad. But it does indicate that the changed conditions in the Orient demand new institutions ; and the people of the Orient are willing to adopt some of the western institutions. *This fact also establishes that the people of the Orient are not so " conservative " and " unchanging " and " unchangeable " as many people think.*

II

At the present time, according to the judgment of political leaders of the countries of the Far East, the question that is of the utmost importance is recovery of sovereign rights and establishment of national states which will be able to withstand external aggression as well as elimination of foreign control in political and economic life of the people. This fact has influenced the development of governmental institutions of all the oriental countries during the last half of a century or longer. In the countries of the Far East, there is no philosophical opposition to the ideal of personal liberty. But under the present conditions of states, personal liberty is to be respected, in so far as this liberty does not in any way interfere with the development of a strong nationalistic state, which in its turn is to work for removing all obstacles, internal as well as external, which hinder the progress of people collectively or individually. Therefore in recent years, whenever any political movement, democratic, socialistic or communistic, has tried to spread its doctrine and organise a popular movement which might interfere with an existing state, working for the recovery of national rights, popular support has come to the state for the suppression of such an organization. But whenever a state has proved to be inefficient or alien, popular sympathy has been with such organizations which have been working for the overthrow of the state. Therefore in the Orient, the political ideal of supremacy of a national state, as preached by Hegel and his followers and practised virtually all over the West, has received tremendous support among the leaders of the oriental peoples as a whole.

The revolutionary movements in India, Philippines, Dutch East Indies and Korea are fed with the ideal of supremacy of a national state which will be brought into existence through the efforts of the masses led by the intelligentsia. At the same time the movement for the suppression of individual liberty are being sustained by the honest belief of the rulers who think that all subversive movement—political and economic radicalism—must be crushed, so that the foundation of the existing state which is working for the development of National Power may not be undermined. If this is true, and I venture to say that it is true, then one may say that the philosophical background of movements against personal liberty in the oriental states is exactly the same as it is in the West. *May I again emphasise that there is no special brand of " oriental despotism, " but all despotic states in the East and West have the same philosophical foundation.*

JAPAN.

Japan is the most westernised of the oriental states. The Japanese consciously and deliberately adopted certain western institutions and have super-imposed these institutions just to strengthen their national power. The Japanese suddenly overthrew the feudalistic form of government of the country and tried to adapt themselves to modern conditions with considerable personal sacrifice on the part of patrotic feudal barons and the samurai class. What was the spirit behind this ? The Japanese were impressed with the superior political, military and naval power of western nations which opened Japan to intercourse with the rest of the world. The Japanese were anxious to adopt such institutions as would help them to strengthen their position. Furthermore extra-territorial jurisdiction in Japan would not have been removed, if Japan did not prove efficient in adapting herself to western methods and practices of government, without sacrificing her national tradition and institutions of vital importance. Therefore the Japanese transformation in the field of governmental institutions with modern constitution, Privy Council, Hosuse of Lords, the Representative

Assembly, civil and penal codes and up-to-date judiciary, etc., are the effects of efforts for the preservation of national sovereignty from external aggression. Japanese political institutions have developed towards a form of democracy, as it may be found in some of the western monarchies.

In Japan, the idea of maintaining supremacy of state has become a practical form of religion : and leaders of political parties are united in developing and strengthening the existing State which will be able to carry out its mission of eliminating western encroachment, affecting Japanese national life. It is well to remember that the differences among the political parties always disappear whenever there is any evidence or even remote possibility of foreign interference in Japan's external policies and economic activities in foreign lands. It has come to my knowledge that even some of the Japanese communist leaders are not opposed to Japan's foreign policy of strengthening herself in the continent of Asia and eliminating all possibility of any attack even from Soviet Russia. However there are Japanese leaders who strongly criticise inefficiency of Japanese authorities and the clumsiness of Japanese officials in carrying out the ideal of maintaining the supremacy of a stable and progressive state ; but they are opposed to any form of revolution or internal conflict which may hurt Japan's position as a first class power. This fact should be kept in mind in interpreting some incidents in Japanese political life. For instance the assassination of a man of the type of Inmukai, who was accused by the western statesmen as one who sanctioned violation of sovereign rights of China, through the invasion of Manchuria, was due to the fact that a group of Japanese sincerely felt that Inmukai was endangering the very existence of the Japanese State through his indecisive action. There is no question of Fascists *vs.* Socialists or militarists *vs.* democrats in Japan today. The question that is of supreme importance for her is this: Can she maintain her position as a great power and assert her national and racial equality inspite of powerful opposition of some of the great western states ? Individual liberty and rights must be sacrificed and even suppressed if the leaders of the state think that it is necessary. In recent years literally thousands of political and economic radicals have been imprisoned and ruthlessly suppressed in Japan for the reason that their activities were regarded as "dangerous to the State."

It is generally expected that because of economic pressure and

Japanese mititary expenditure and expansionist adventures in Asia there will be a revolution in Japan. I am of the opinion that foreign opposition to Japanese foreign policies and foreign criticism of Japanese policy of securing equality or parity in matters of naval defence, will lead to cementing national unity, ignoring the defect, and the nature of national administration. Just as in France recently the Flandin government received virtual unanimous support of the French deputies on the question of two years' military service, in the face of German re-armament programme and compulsory military service, similarly the Japanese are less apt to oppose any form of virtual dictatorship, in the face of foreign opposition to their national aspirations. However it may be that if the Japanese are plunged into an international conflict and be defeated, then there will be changes in the form of government, as was the case with Russia and Germany, after the World War. But one cannot be very optimistic about the possibility of a change towards a democratic form of government.

The Japanese leaders are not unmindful of the fact that economic pressure on the masses of the people may be disastrous to the State. Therefore, to prevent any possibility of a revolutionary outbreak, they are making efforts to expand their foreign trade which may help the cause of national prosperity and supply the means for the improvement of the economic condition of the masses. Such are the most significant trends in Japanese political life.

CHINA.

In China, the ideal of establishing a strong national State took the form of revolutionary movement for overthrowing a corrupt and inefficient monarchy and the establishment of a republic. The leaders of the revolutionary movement in China were democratic and champions of popular right, because it was essentially necessary for them to secure popular support ; and they also felt that with the establishment of a democratic state it will receive support from democratic western states such as the United States of America and Great Britain. When it was found that they could not accomplish their end of removing extra-territoriality and other limitation of sovereignty in China through the co-operation of Great Britain, the United States, Japan and other capitalistic states, the Chinese leaders turned towards communist Soviet Russia, which agreed to give up extra-territoriality and extend aid in various forms, especially re-organization of the nationalist army. This led to the beginning of communist influence in the political life of China, through Soviet Russian influence in the Kuomintang Party, which had the object of establishing a powerful sovereign Chinese State which will not only be able to recover China's lost territories, but be able to take leadership in freeing other oppressed peoples in the Orient and other parts of the world. The leaders of the Kuomintang did not think much of the personal liberty of those who opposed their national aspirations and they branded those Chinese who were not willing to co-operate with them as traitors. But when the communistic influence in the Kuomintang became so strong that the nationalistic ideal of the Chinese leaders were being overshadowed by the communistic enterprise and Soviet Russian influence in Chinese politics, then leaders of the type of General Chiang Kai Shek and those who realised that the support of non-communist countries was essential to China's recovery, took strong measures in suppressing the so-called communist elements from the ranks of Kuomintang. There is no doubt about the fact that during the last few years thousands were killed by the nationalist right-wing ; and the Kuomintang party was purged of radical elements. Communism spread fast among the peasants in China, because they had just grievances against the oppressive system of taxation and awful poverty of the masses. The communists promised hope for better life to those who had nothing to lose by the proposed change. The Communist Party of China formed its own army and has been fighting civil wars against the nationalist forces and literally tens of thousands or hundreds of thousands have been killed in these wars. It is needless to add that there is no question of preserving " personal liberty " under the existing conditions.

In a State like China, where foreign influence plays an important part in domestic affairs, political parties are tinged with the colour of the political creed of that foreign state which supports a faction or a party. The so-called communists in China are looking for actual support and inspiration from Soviet Russia ; the Cantonese group of the radical or democratic group in the Kuomintang are seeking support of the United States and Great Britain, and they are champions of republicanism in China ; and the group that is being led by General Chiang Kai Shek is extremely nationalistic and realistic. The Nanking Government realises that the value of so-called support from the

Western States and the League of Nations is something like a pleasant dream and illusion ; and China must work out her own salvation through a strong army and centralised government, if need be, a dictatorship. Therefore it seeks inspiration from the strong centralised government of Japan, the Fascist regime of Il Duce in Italy and also the military genius of German Generals who have been acting as advisors. I do not mean to say that General Chiang Kai Shek and others are opposed to *personal liberty*. But their conduct regarding the rights and privileges of individuals is based upon the firm and honest conviction that an individual's right must be sacrificed to the glory of the State, so that a strong State will be able to offer effective service to the whole nation.

SIAM

Recent events in Siam show that the spirit of nationalism is marching fast in that land. A nationalist movement carried out a peaceful revolution, by forcing the monarch to grant greater power of control of the government to the popular and revolutionary leaders and limiting the authority of the King. This revolution was bloodless and quick, because the leaders of the military force, upon which depends the power of the State, were leading the revolution ; and the king had to surrender. However the very recent changes in the country show that the King of Siam left his country, abdicated the throne and decided to live in England. The King had abdicated because the Nationalist Party leaders encroached upon his power. The power controlling the Government of Siam is anti-democratic and nationalistic. Its ideal is that the establishment of a strong government freed from foreign western influence cannot be accomplished without a centralised authoritative form of Government. Its foreign policy is not to cater to Western Powers which in the past deprived Siam of her territories. This was clearly demonstrated from the fact that Siam, of all the governments represented in the League of Nations, voted in favour of Japan and against the League Resolution regarding Manchuria. These anti-democratic and nationalist leaders are working to develop a strong State in Siam with Japanese co-operation which is not agreeable to many Siamese who think that depending upon Japanese co-operation, Siam should not antagonise

Great Britain, France and Italy. The anti-democratic nationalist state of Siam is passing through a period of transition ; and as it is still very weak, it is to a great extent dependent upon foreign support and co-operation. Therefore it is quite possible, that in case of necessity and if ever a civil war breaks out in Siam, personal liberty of those who belong to the opposition will be ruthlessly suppressed. The present state of affairs in Siam indicates that the thing that concerns the leaders the most is the establishment of a strong nationalist State, overcoming all obstacles on its way.

INDIA

The trend of political life in India is most interesting as well as instructive. The country is ruled by one of the strongest governments in the world ; but it does not enjoy full confidence and support of the peoples. The function of the government, according to all honest students, has been primarily economic exploitation of the people for the benefit of the ruling class and incidentally also that of the masses of Great Britain. The Rt. Hon. Ramsay MacDonald in his work, *The Government of India* has acknowledged this truism. Rev. Dr. J. T. Sunderland has graphically described the truth about India in detail in his studies.

At the outset, it should be remembered that India, for a long time, was ruled by a British Military Dictatorship ; and there was no question of personal freedom for those who ever challenged the authority of State. The British Government in India took special care to make it clear that it would not take any step to interfere with social and religious life of the people, so that there would not be any question of opposition to the Government on those grounds. But the people were denied the right to govern their own country and this power was invested the British officials. Under these circumstances rose the movement for securing freedom.

With the rise of this national sentiment, wisely but very cautiously directed by the leaders of the Indian National Congress, who were inspired by the achievements of the Continental Congress of the United States, the British Government in India adopted measures to safeguard the permanency of British soverignty in India. It started with strict Press Act, to suppress vernacular press, fomenting anti-government feeling or spreading disaffection against the British rule in India.

This press law has been made more stringent and interpreted in such a way that those who expressed aspirations for complete independence of India from British rule might be regarded as violator of the law, which is upholding the supremacy of the State.

But such repressive measures cannot often crush the desire for freedom. Therefore the movement for political freedom grew and the moderate form of nationalism became extreme. Lord Morley, in his *Recollections* records that when the Indian Nationalist movement took an extreme form, it became necessary to make certain concessions to the "Moderates of India" and on the other hand, to crush the extreme nationalists through legalised form of persecution which the Indian nationalists term as "Lawless Laws." Therefore, following the policy of granting concessions on the one hand and pursuing the policy of repression on the other, Lord Morley, the then Secretary of State for India, granted certain reforms in 1909. But these concessions were not sufficient to resist the rising tide of nationalism.

During the World War, when Great Britain was fighting for her very existence, the political condition of India was something like that of Ireland, where moderate Home Rulers were willing to support the British while the radical nationalists were anxious to promote a national revolution. The British authorities had to confer further concessions, with the hope of securing support of moderate Indian nationalists. But as the concessions were not sufficient and the oppression of the Indian nationalists seeking greater measure of freedom was unbelievably cruel, the Indian nationalists of moderate school demanded for greater concession. Thus after the Jalianwallabag massacre at Amritsar in 1919, Bloody Sunday of India, rose the Gandhi Movement. It is interesting to note that under the premiership of the Rt. Hon. J. Ramsay MacDonald, an avowed Socialist, and also under the viceroyship of Lord Reading, the ex-Lord Chief Justice of Great Britain, the British Government sanctioned the passage of new laws—if they can be called laws—by which any person, suspected of carrying on anti-government activities, can be put to prison without any formal trial ; and a new type of criminal law was sanctioned by which a person can be tried *in camera*, without the help of a lawyer to defend him and witnesses for the prosecution will not have to be present in person, and there can be no appeal from the decision of the Star Chamber justice. But this did not stop the national movement ; so the government of Lord Irwin (now Lord Halifax) and the present Viceroy, Lord Willingdon ruled India by *ordinance* and by outlawing all nationalist organisations, such as the All-India National Congress and even confiscating property and finances of these organizations. Many of the prominent Indian leaders were made "State Prisoners," without any form of trial and thousands were sent to concentration camps as "detenus" without any trial. But this method could not uproot the nationalist movement, so the third instalment of concessions in the form of a new constitution for a Federated India is in the process of being legalised by an Act of British Parliament. Before I say a few words about the nature of the much heralded new constitution, I must give a picture of individual liberty in British India, where the British people are trying to teach the Indian people the ideals of democracy.

In 1818 when India was ruled by military dicatorship of British rulers, any Indian—a prince or a commoner—who was regarded as dangerous to State, was sent to prison indefinitely and no trial was needed. This law was known as Regulation III of 1818. This law is still in force and according to information supplied by Sir Henry Craik, the Home Member of the Government of India, in answer to a question by Mr. Satyamurti of Indian Legislative Aseembly at Delhi; on February 15, 1935, that "the number of State Prisoners under the Regulations III, 1818, was 72 ; of whom 40 were in jails ; and that of detenus under different ordinances and Acts, in jail and detention camps were 1,661, excluding Burma in respect of which figures were not available." (*The Amrita Bazar Patrika, Weekly edition*, Calcutta, February 21, 1935.)

"At the Bengal Legislative Council at Calcutta on Wednesday (February 20, 1935), in reply to a series of questions by Ananda Mohan Poddar as to the number of persons at present under restraint under the Bengal Criminal Amendment Act and Regulation III of 1818, the Honourable R. N. Reid, Member in charge of the Political Department, said that in all 2,509 persons were detained under Bengal Criminal Amendment Act. Of these 2,480 were males and 29 females. 203 were imprisoned in the Bengal jails and 3 outside Bengal, 678 interned in Bengal villages other than their own homes, 154 interned in their own homes, 974 confined in detention camps in Bengal and 497 outside of Bengal."—*Ibid*, page 7.

There are some political prisoners in India who are denied any form of trial, but have been deprived of their personal liberty, because their ideas, philosophy of life and political creed as well as activities are being regarded by the government as dangerous to the supremacy of State.

In this connection I wish to point out that an Indian Prince, Maharaja Guru Charan Singh of Nabha, and a member of the Indian Legislative Assembly (so-called Indian Parliament), Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, Bar.-at-Law, of Calcutta High Court, are among the Regulation III prisoners. Mr. Bose has repeatedly asked for a trial ; but the Government of India refused to try him on any charge and yet kept him in prison for an indefinite term.[1] During the last election, Mr. Bose was elected as the Nationalist Candidate from Calcutta to the Indian Legislative Assembly. But he could not attend the sessions of the Assembly, because he was not released by the Government. In this connection a very interesting legal situation has developed. Mr. Satyamurti made a motion in the Indian Legislative Assembly that Mr. Bose should be released, so that he might be able to fulfil his obligations as a representative of the people. This motion was carried by a large majority ; but the Government of India refused to release him. It also refuses to try him by a duly constituted court, because Sir Henry Craik, representing the British Government in India, assured the law-makers that "no trial was necessary, because according to the Government there *is* satisfactory evidence for confinement." Here is then a perfect specimen of the Executive authority, performing legislative as well as judicial functions, violating the fundamental rights of political freedom and individual liberty.

I wish to mention another type of denial of personal freedom prevalent in India under the British rule. There are so-called Indian exiles in foreign lands. These Indians were advocates of Indian freedom. They either escaped from India to avoid persecution or carried on certain political activities against British rule in India, after coming to a foreign country. Now these persons are legally barred from entering India. Mr. Sailendra Nath Ghosh, who came to the United States about 20 years ago, as a political refugee, during the last few years, has asked several times the British authorities in Washington and London to supply him with such travelling papers as need be, so that he would be able to return to India and if necessary stand trial for any charge pending against him ; but he cannot get permission to return home, although he is a British subject and is now in very difficult financial situation in the land of his refuge. Mr. Ghosh was a brilliant scholar of Calcutta University. One of the Indian residents in London, Mr. Saklatwala, who was for some time a member of the British Parliament, has been refused passport to return to India, because his presence in India may prove dangerous to the authority of the State.

---

[1] Mr. Bose has just been unconditionally released from detention, to-day July 26, 1935. *Ed. C. R.*

These and many other cases prove that whenever an alien government becomes faced with movements for national independence, it crushes them ruthlessly to preserve the supremacy of the State. In such a condition, personal liberty of those who value human freedom is least secure. This was the case with the Armenians and Arabs under the Turkish rule. This is the case with the Koreans under the Japanese rule and the Javanese under the Dutch rule and the Annamites or Indo-Chinese under the French rule and the Filipinos also had to suffer until the government of the United States decided to grant independence to the Filipinos.

In this connection it may be said that an alien government never makes adequate concession to a subject people, unless it is forced to do so. From this standpoint the concession offered by the British Indian Government in the form of a new constitution is hardly adequate, because the supreme emergency has not yet arrived. The British Government has a loyal and strong military and police force to uphold its authority. It can depend upon the support of the Indian Princes and landlords and certain types of Indian capitalists. There is no foreign complication as yet menacing British rule in India. Therefore a careful examination of the proposed constitution for India will disclose that it will not give the people of India or the so-called Indian Parliament control over the National Defence, Finance, and Foreign Relations of the country. The proposed new constitution provides that if the legislative body refuses to enact a law at the bidding of the executive, *i.e.*, the Governor General or the Governor, these officials will have the power to enact such laws by issuing ordinances. The executive heads of the Government will have also the right to veto any law, which, according to their decision may not be to the interest of the State. Thus a new constitution in India will provide for a new type of legalised autocracy which will maintain supremacy of an alien government, in opposition to a growing nationalist movement, seeking to establish supremacy of National State. (*Vide* Government of India Bill, 1935.)

Whatever I have said regarding India under the British rule, to a more or less degree, is applicable to all countries under foreign yoke. Individual British or Japanese officials ruling in India or Korea may be very good men and prize personal liberty. But as administrator and champions of supremacy of state they are bound to crush all oppositions and thus personal liberty.

III

Putting aside all sentimentality, I may say that even a democratic state or a socialistic state or communistic state cannot place the ideal of individual liberty above the supremacy of state. Wherever this is done, it has resulted in the overthrow of the government. The classic example before our eyes is the rise of National Socialism in Germany for two reasons: (1) inefficiency of the Socialist Government to maintain the supremacy of state against the subversive activities and (2) also because the subversive movement received greater popular support for it advocated a stronger State which promised to overthrow all foreign influence and control. On the other hand we see that the government of Soviet Russia which is regarded as the hope and last word of People's government, is still maintaining its power through ruthless suppression of all opposition, so that the United Socialist Soviet Republic in Russia may survive to carry out its own programme. The democratic states, like the United States of America, Great Britain, and France adopted the most drastic measures against their citizens, who, as conscientious objectors, during the World War refused to support the State, at the hour of grave danger. Fear is behind all repressive measures. It is the weakness of the State that makes the rulers at times unnecessarily nervous and thus makes them advocates of tyranny. This is universally true.

It is my conviction that a strong nationalistic state is not an enemy of individual liberty. In fact, real individual liberty can flourish only in a strong national state which is not afraid of internal trouble verging to revolution and has the strength to defy any foreign opposition. Whenever a State is faced with internal decay or foreign complications of serious nature, personal liberty is sacrificed at the altar of a State, struggling to maintain its existence. However, at times of grave emergencies States make concessions and grant popular rights, with the object of securing popular support. This is happening in the States in the Orient as well as in the Occident.

IV

Political institutions in the countries of the Far East are in the process of evolution. The Japanese have a monarchy, and a constitution which gives the Emperor absolute authority ; but the Emperor in his turn seldom uses this prerogative without consulting his trusted advisors and leaders of the nation, who by years of service to the State have earned the distinction of becoming respected by all the Japanese irrespective of party affiliations. The Chinese are experimenting in the establishment of a Republican form of government, which has borrowed much from the western republics and even Soviet Russian Government as well as the spirit of Fascist dictatorship. They have tried to incorporate some of the Chinese ideals of government with the new form. The Government of Siam is in process of transformation. The rest of the Far East, being under alien domination, the political trend there is for revolution.

It should be noted that through development of industries and economic institutions which always influence the structure of political institutions, as the New Deal and N.R.A. are doing in the United States, we may reasonably expect to see some changes in the institutions of the Orient. For instance, even in India there is great deal of agitation for adoption of a form of planned economy. Sir M. Visvesvaraya, once the Prime Minister of Mysore and a well-known author on Indian economic problems, has just published a book entitled *Planned Economy for India,* in which he gives an outline of a Ten-Year Plan for India, by which he proposes " to provide for rapid expansion of industries, public works, public utility services, increase of production and effective check on the increased agriculturalisation of the country. It aims to spread mass education, importing uptodate machinery and tools making their use familiar to the peoples, spreading a knowledge of business principles and practices and equipping people with technical skill and business ability. The economic organization is to consist of one All-India Economic Council and its committees, associated with the Development Department of the Central Government. Every provincial Government will have a similar organisation, consisting of a Development Department working in close co-operation with the Provincial Economic Council and its committees. There will be a local Economic Council in every district and town to carry out local improvements, its chief object being to encourage initiative and co-operation in the local population for promoting their common economic advance." This clearly demonstrates that India is not going to depend upon the spinning wheel of Gandhi and to discard industrialism.

In China the question of managed currency and development of industries are live issues. Needless to say that industrialisation of Japan has gone so far that she is in the vanguard of those great industrial and commercial nations, depending much upon her foreign trade. Japanese political expansion has a great bearing upon her necessity of economic expansion or dependence upon economic imperialism. Therefore one may safely say that the significance of the political trends in the Far East is to develop such States as will promote political institutions, guaranteeing economic and industrial efficiency of the nation.

V

One of the most important features of the political development in the West is the visible decay of the representative system of government. This is due to the fact that the present-day society is not organised for common good ; furthermore the present-day political democracy does not insure economic security. In the West, the feudal system produced a form of government suited to its social organization ; industrial revolution produced a condition which resulted in capitalist democracy without economic democracy. The order of the day is for a new social order. Evolution of governmental institutions in oriental countries will follow the same course. But the question that we have to face is this: Will the change in the Orient—a real and radical change in any social order—be possible without the use of force ? Apparently not. It may be peaceful, if the vast majority desires the change and the privileged classes agree to surrender without a fight.

The trend of political life in Asia will ultimately be the same as it is now in Europe and America. It will be influenced by the problems of social security. It will depend upon the measures to be adopted so that national resources may be so controlled and utilised that the masses of the people will have greater security and result in good of the community at large than that of a few privileged ones. How will this be achieved and what form of political institution will lead to attain this end, cannot be prophesied. I have come to the conclusion that mere forms of government such as monarchy, republic or dictatorship of the Fascist type or proletariat dictatorship of the Soviet type—are not the determining factors for the goal to be attained. A supposed theocracy in Japan with the ideal of serving national welfare may accomplish more than what may be done in a republic like China under the present disorganised condition. A virtual dictatorship of the type of Mustapha Kamal of Turkey or Riza Khan in Persia or the rule of the anti-democratic nationalist party in Siam is undoubtedly rousing the people to demand higher standard of living. Revolutionary changes in the form of government may not accomplish much, but the change of the spirit behind the government and the political philosophy dominating the national life will lead to the establishment of more effective and stable changes in government consistent with the ideals and traditions of the peoples of the East. Such governments will assure greater personal liberty as a step towards real progress. Significance of the political trend of the Far East is for the establishment of strong national states which will assure economic security to the people and lead the nations towards real progress. There is no fundamental difference between the East and West except in the tempo of the march towards the required changes for a new social order.[1]

Washington, D. C.

---

[1] This paper was presented before the 39th Annual Meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (held at Philadelphia, Pa.) on April 5, 1935.

SHERIDAN AND VANBRUGH : A STUDY IN ADAPTATION

PRIYARANJAN SEN, M.A.
Lecturer in English, The University, Calcutta.

PROLIFIC as the latter half of the 18th century in England had been in dramatic literature, as names like Garrick, Foote and others serve to indicate, Sheridan looms large on the horizon, and his extensive interests—in stage-craft and state-craft, in dreamland and on solid earth—increase the effect. People in his day were dazzled by the brilliance and variety of his gifts. His father—Johnson's "Old Sherry"—was an actor and a professor of elocution; despite the slightly artificial language of his own comedies, they compare favourably with Goldsmith's, as besides the sparkle of wit in the dialogue, the characters are better drawn and the plots more ingeniously contrived. Richard Brinsley Sheridan, we are so often reminded, was advised in his literary efforts by Garrick, and presumably on such advice did he contribute to the Drury Lane Theatre his "Trip to Scarborough," an adaptation of Vanbrugh's comedy "The Relapse," which was brought out on the 24th February, 1777. A comparison of the two plays is interesting work, and let me hope, not altogether unprofitable.

Let us compare the two versions from the very beginning and start with the prologues.

Vanbrugh has two prologues—the first is a tissue of 'sparkling' talks addressed to ladies for their delectation by one of them. This is indicative of the spirit of the age but the second is less coarse. Sheridan's is more in tune with this second prologue, as regards the general tone. He is full of the idea that there has been a change between his time and Vanbrugh's, and noting down the difference in detail in the dress and outward appearances and fashions of the people, he gives this as the reason for his adaptation :

> "As change thus circulates throughout the nation,
> Some plays may justly call for alteration."

The first scene in Vanbrugh is omitted in Sheridan. In this scene Lovelace and Amanda appear on the boards, when Lovelace, about to leave for the town, professes his great love for her, his profusion of professions of constancy appearing like a case of irony. It was quite in place in the " Relapse " or " Virtue in Danger," but it would have failed in its effect in "A Trip to Scarborough" which disavows any central theme. Difference in this particular item simply suits the difference in the titles, and the initial omission in no way impairs the unity of interest. The second scene in Vanbrugh, however, corresponds to the first in Sheridan ; Young Fashion has become Tom Fashion; and the waterman, the postilion ; the hero has more dignity in Sheridan, because is it not he directly but his attendant Lory, that talks to the poor postilion who is going to be cheated—an apt introduction to the strange, funny, amusing world we are going to enter. Moreover, it is not Lory the attendant but Col. Townly, the friend senior in years, who assumes the rôle of Mentor to the young hero. In other respects, Sheridan condenses the scene, increasing its dramatic effect, but in point of diction the two are practically on the same level.

" A rascal, to be so cursed ready with his change "—the pungent sentence is an improvement on the model, but the other changes are of very slight interest.

In Sheridan's second scene, which corresponds to Vanbrugh's third, we continue to find the tendency towards condensation ; the first ten lines in the original play are simply omitted, and the next dozen lines are quite different—but while the action does not advance in Vanbrugh, we get here an inkling into the intentions of Lord F. who delays going over to his intended sposa and proposes to flirt with Amanda.

Passing over the minor changes we find that it is Lory in Sheridan and not Tom Fashion who makes the first comment on his Lordship's extravagance. In his version Sheridan makes his lordship talk to Tom, which is more natural than ignoring him altogether, as in the earlier play. The sempstress has brought with her *ruffles* in Sheridan and *steenkirk* in Vanbrugh, for his lordship. In his directions to Mendleys about the stockings, Lord Foppington is different in the two plays,—he explains himself in Sheridan but is abrupt and haughty in Vanbrugh. The periwig-maker in the original is transformed into a jeweller. There are two more changes that may be noted ; in Sheridan Lord F. is softer and more humorous, because he would direct his brother to other *ordinaries*, while in Vanbrugh he would invite his brother to the *family dinner* in his own absence ; here the change is hardly an improvement. The lady is said to be a great heiress of about £1,500 a year, in the earlier play, but no definite mention is made about the amount in the latter.

Whoever wishes to find out the contrast in the atmosphere of the two plays should read the Coupler scenes side by side. The words, brutal and vulgar, that occur in Vanbrugh are conspicuous by their absence in Sheridan, and this without sacrificing the interest of the plot. But is there a jar as we read the amended or adapted version ? Is Sheridan guilty of spoiling the absurdity of the artificial atmosphere, whose absurdity itself constitutes its excellence, by infusing a moral tone, as Lamb complained regarding "The School for Scandal"?—I do not think so.

The second act consists of one scene only. Some of the changes are worth noting down. Here for the first time, for example, we come across the word 'Scarborough' in Sheridan. The same tendency towards condensation is also visible. Thus all abstract speculation about the charming nature of plays between Loveless and Amanda is omitted, the compliments which Loveless and Berinthia exchange are also cut short. The effect of all this is to concentrate on action and the words seem to fly like action hints on the screen. But Vanbrugh has with more art drawn the confession episode—Loveless is betrayed into it by a sudden impulse while it is not sufficiently motived in Sheridan. There is in this scene an amiable dispute regarding the propriety of ridiculing or laughing at human infirmities,—which is appropriately omitted in Sheridan, because in the earlier play it stands out as a rejoinder to the protestations of contemporary puritans, a need certainly not felt in Sheridan's time when the controversy had died out and there was a distinct turn in favour of religion and decency in public life. Hence "the town would be robbed of one of its chief diversions, if it should become a crime to laugh at a fool,"—this is passed over in silence in the adaptation. Sheridan makes Lord F. address Loveless more familiarly but keeps clear of the absurdities or vulgarities indulged in by Vanbrugh. A similar attempt is in Sheridan's 'I think' from 'I think her name is B.' which is, in Vanbrugh, rather impertinent. A comparison of the daily pleasures of Lord Foppington in town is instructive. He leaves his bed about ten o'clock in Vanbrugh, but about twelve at Sheridan ; then he ' takes a turn in the park ' in Vanbrugh but rides in Sheriden ; ' I take a turn in the chocolate house ' (V.) but 'drink my chocolate' (S.). Riding was more in favour and chocolate houses were decaying. Again, the later play omits all mention of dining out at Lacket's' and substitutes the opera by the church. All these changes were warranted by the condition of the times. Let us now pass on to the third act.

From the nondescript servant in Vanbrugh to La Varole in Sheridan is a great step—the portrait is full of colour and warmth. Similarly, Milor's instructions to La Varole are more specific. In the strings of excuses offered by Foppington 'periwigs' are replaced by 'bouquets'—because these were gone out of date, as so graphically described by Sir Walter Scott. It is also noteworthy that while Young Tom in Vanbrugh mentally curses his elder brother by saying " Pox take her (*i.e.*, Nature)" for having "made you older" the later writer uses 'plague' for 'pox.' It is doubtful, however, if it is any improvement when we read " Farewell, brother " for " Farewell, snuff-box." In the beginning of the second scene we find Loveless's soliloquy considerably shortened, and there are other significant changes also. Amanda in the original is too forward but though in the adaptation she is still a little inviting so far as Col. Townley is concerned, she is there far less shamefaced and the change is altogether for the better. Lory in the third scene is sometimes more eloquent in Sheridan who knows how to add as well as to omit. It should be mentioned in this connection that the later play does not always seem to be at an advantage, as when Sir Tun. proceeds to describe his daughter's charm :— " what she wants in art she has in breeding " for " what she wants in art, she has by nature ; what she wants in experience, she has in breeding " in the original.

In the next scene we come across some more cases of pruning and minor changes ; of these the only one that needs a passing notice is ' *tucker* ' for ' *smock*.'

From what has been said above, it will appear that Sheridan does not always excel in adaptation. The last act will also bear out this impression. His touches are finer as a rule, but sometimes they fall flat. The horrid and coarse details narrated by the nurse have been no doubt happily omitted, but it is doubtful if the namelessness of the

Chaplain (Mr. Bull) is any improvement. Sheridan also omits a melodious love-lyric, and this can hardly be described as a change for the better. We cannot however speak with any disparagement of the exquisite peep into feminine fitfulness introduced by him :—

Maid. If you please, madam, whether you'll have me buy them or not ?
Aman. Yes—no—Go, teaser; I care not what you do: Prithee, leave me.

His skill in adaptation and originality appear at their best in this short scene. He has given us, instead of a boy placed as a clerk to an attorney in the trade of roguery, a woman in a delicate situation, a virtuous and loving wife to be experimented upon by an intriguing woman and a polished and practised beau. There have been more retouching and altering in this scene probably than in any other, and the contemporary society is reflected in his scenes—subtly: we must read between the lines to understand and appreciate.

Pope had summed up Vanbrugh in one line,

"Van wants grace, who never wanted wit."

Sheridan has tried to put in grace, and the result has been qualified success.

It is remarkable that while Vanbrugh, in spite of his coarseness, could excite admiration in a series of generations through a century, his rivals could but succeed in creating pale imitations which never drew a full house and which remain more or less curiosities of literature, despite honest attempts by a Dodd or a Mrs. Jordan, whose powers of acting Lamb so lustily cheered.

Calcutta.

THE KOM DANCE.

PARESHCHANDRA DASGUPTA
AND
MINENDRANATH BASU.

Department of Anthropology, Calcutta University.

The Kom is an unknown primitive tribe, inhabiting the hilly tract of Manipur. Like other pre-literate human groups they live in isolated settlements far away from the reach of modern civilization. They live a simple life, following with religious regularity the customs and practices of their forefathers. This people are so much controlled by the precedents of the past that there is little chance of intellectual evolution, the primary condition of which is the freedom of thought and will. The entire life of the savage is ridden by superstitions and there is very little scope for the development of individuality. From the religious affairs down to the details of daily life the aborigines are to follow the examples of their forefathers. This extreme reverence for the past, orthodox conservatism of the society is inimical to the progress and welfare of the people and always tends to degeneration and stagnancy. But still it would be quite wrong to suppose that these primitive people are really without their pleasures. On the contrary, this pre-literate or illiterate humanity seems to be buoyed up with joy of youth amidst the servility to the traditions of the past. They seem to enjoy a blissful freedom in their games and dances, which also reflect their aesthetic ideas to no less extent.

Though quite primitive in other respects the Kom people seem to have developed in respect of the art of dancing. The Kom people are very fond of dancing and all the religious and social ceremonies are accompanied with various sorts of dancing and merrymaking. The Kom dances are mainly of three types:—

(A) *The hunting dance.*—When a band of youthful Kom hunters return from the forest with the spoils there takes place in the village a dancing ceremony. This type of dancing is very simple but at the same time full of art and elegance. The young hunters with their spears raised aloft in the right hand and the shield held in the left stand in a file. Now the drum begins to beat aloud and the blowpipe (they use a native type made by their own men) fills the air with enchanting music. The hunters then begin to move the body right and left, now raising the spear and then lowering it down, imitating the postures of hunting. A few minutes after, the whole gang begins to move forward slowly, taking their steps with a slow and manly gait and moving rhythmically right and left along with the beats of the drum. In the hunting dance the women are not allowed to take part. They simply supply glasses of Zu (a country-made wine) to the dancing bachelors.

(B) *Love-dance.*—This type of dance is generally executed by the unmarried women of the village, though there is no restriction for the married women to join them. This dance may be performed by a single woman individually or 3 or 4 of them taking part at the same time. Of all the Kom dances this type is the most elegant and really indicative of high art. Though it is said to be the love dance still there is not the least sex-suggestion. The woman stands in the middle of the dancing arena which is generally an open ground encircled by the enamoured bachelors, and slowly moves her lower limbs in harmony with the musical accompaniment. She raises her legs one after another and moves one pace forward and half a pace backward, rhythmically bending the upper part of her body slightly to the right, slightly to the left alternating with the movement of the lower limb. The hands are raised up forming a circle at the level of the head, with the palms stretched almost to meet one another. The palms are moved alternately so as to represent the movements of the waves. But what makes the whole thing all the more artistic is that the hands have little movements, while the lower limbs of the body and the palms are rhythmically moving to the tune of the blowpipe. The real charm of beauty of this dance are beyond all description. The woman in her dance appears almost like the budding branch of a flower plant waving slowly to the breath of the southern air.

(C) The third type is a religious dance and is performed only on special occasions. Here also the musical accompaniment is almost the same and the women take the main part, though the bachelors of the village also join them. So far as the movements of the limbs in the execution of the dance are concerned it is not much different from the "Baran" dance (mainly performed in connection with the Durga Puja ceremony) in vogue in Bengal. The meaning of this dance is simply saluting the deity and while performing this the woman, besides waving her hands and bending her body to and fro, also bends her head every now and then in a posture of salute.

Dancing among the Kom people is now becoming more and more rare due to their contact with missionary civilisation, and it will be no wonder if these dances are totally forgotten by the people within a decade or half. Though apparently it will be no loss to the people who are thrusting their own civilisation upon them, it will be a great loss to the people concerned, for it shows their distinctive development in the field of art.

Miscellany

[*Bolshevism through Nazi Eyes* (BENOYKUMAR SARKAR)—*Kautalya and His Boswell* (BENOYKUMAR SARKAR).]

BOLSHEVISM THROUGH NAZI EYES.

A part of Adolf Hitler's speech delivered in the Reichstag on May 21, 1935, reads as follows in English:—

Germany to-day is a National-Socialist State. The ideas by which we are governed are diametrically opposed to those of Soviet Russia. National Socialism is a doctrine which applies exclusively to the German people. Bolshevism lays emphasis on its international mission.

We National-Socialists believe that in the long run man can be happy only in his own nation. We live in the belief that the happiness and the achievements of Europe are indissolubly connected with the existence of a system of free, independent national states. Bolshevism preaches the constitution of a world empire and only recognises sections of a central International.

We National-Socialists recognise that every people has the right to its own inner life according to its own needs and character. Bolshevism on the other hand sets up doctrinaire theories, to be accepted by all nations, without regard for their particular character, disposition and traditions.

National-Socialism strives to solve social problems, together with questions and conflicts in its own nation, by methods which are compatible with our general human, spiritual, cultural and economic ideas, traditions and circumstances. Bolshevism preaches an international class conflict and the carrying out of a world-revolution by means of terrors and force.

National-socialism aims at bridging over and equalising unfavourable contrasts in social life, and in uniting the whole population in collaborative work. Bolshevism teaches the overthrow of the rule of one class by means of a forcible dictatorship on the part of another class.

National-Socialism places no value upon a purely theoretical rule of the working class, but lays all the more value on the practical improvement of their conditions of life and way of living. Bolshevism fights for a theory and to this theory it sacrifices millions of human beings and incalculable cultural and traditional values. In comparison with ourselves it achieves only a very low general standard of living.

As National-Socialists we are filled with admiration and respect for the great achievements of the past, not only in our own nation but far beyond it. We are happy to belong to the European community of culture which has inspired the modern world to so large an extent. Bolshevism rejects this cultural achievement of humanity and asserts that real culture and human history began with the year in which Marxism was born.

We National-Socialists may perhaps not have the same views as our church communities in respect to this or that question of organisation. But we never want to see a lack of religion and faith and do not want our churches turned into clubrooms and cinemas. Bolshevism teaches godlessness and acts accordingly.

We National-Socialists see in private property a higher grade of human economic development which regulates the administration of rewards in proportion to the differences in achievement, but which in general makes possible and guarantees to all the advantages of a higher standard of living. Bolshevism destroys not only private property but also private initiative and zests for personal responsibility. In this way it has failed to save millions of men from starvation in Russia, the greatest agrarian state in the world.

The results of such a catastrophe in Germany would be inconceivable. In Russia there are 90 people on the land to only 10 living in the cities, whereas in Germany there are only 25 peasants to every 75 town-dwellers.

In so far as Bolshevism can be considered a purely Russian affair we have no interest in it whatever. Every nation must seek its salvation in its own way. So far as Bolshevism draws Germany into its range, however, we are its deadliest and most fanatical enemies.

BENOYKUMAR SARKAR

KAUTALYA AND HIS BOSWELL.

In regard to the alleged Maurya *milieu* of the *Arthasastra* materials or contents the Indian tradition remains unproven after thirty years of strenuous studies in Kautalyalogy. On the other hand, the arguments advanced against the Indian tradition from all sides have failed to prove anything. The benefit of doubt is therefore in favour of the Indian tradition to the effect that the *Arthasastra* is the work of the Mauryan, especially of the Chandraguptan, epoch.

In regard to the question about the authorship, likewise, nothing conclusive has yet been advanced to prove that Kautalya, the minister of Chandragupta Maurya, is the author of the *Arthasastra* in the form in which we have it. But on the other hand it is possible to argue strongly against its being *entirely* the work of one man and to suspect that somebody who is not Kautalya the minister himself has had a hand in its preparation. Although Kautalyan and Mauryan in the main, the *Arthasastra* has therefore to be regarded as a compilation, in the making of which a non-Kautalyan hand has to be admitted. These non-Kautalyan traces are separate from the eventual interpolations of words or phrases that may have crept in subsequently. The non-Kautalyan hand is to be seen in the substantial portions or main *corpus* of the work itself. We are speaking of the man who virtually "made" Kautalya and started the tradition about him.

The most commonsense and matter-of-fact view of the last chapter of the *Arthasastra* ought to be (1) that the writer of this chapter is not the same man as Kautalya, (2) that Kautalya is a famous name and is very highly adored by the writer, (3) that the writer has collected together the Kautalyan ideas for publication under his editorship. As for the relation in which the writer of the last chapter stands to Kautalya two alternatives may be suggested. First, the writer is a pupil, colleague or secretary of Kautalya. Or perhaps the writer is exploiting Kautalya's name in order to palm his own ideas off as Kautalyan. Now, it appears that there is nobody to challenge the alleged Kautalyan authorship of the main body of the book. It has, therefore, been accepted by the people as emanating from Kautalya himself on the assurance or authority of the editor, *i. e.*, the writer of the last chapter. The origin of the Indian tradition about the Kautalyan school or system may have to be sought in these circumstances. The tradition may have been started by this editor and it caught the imagination of the folk or the literary public.

The very opening lines of the first chapter say that the work is a summary and compilation from the works of previous authors. This statement may have been written by the writer of the last chapter, *i. e.*, the editor or publisher, who was perhaps a compiler or the compiler-in-chief.

All those 72 places in which Kautalya has been quoted by name as against other professors of *Niti* or *Artha* philosophy indicate, likewise, that a person who is different from Kautalya has been at work. No normal-minded person can ever believe that Kautalya as author was mentioning himself in the third person as arrayed against others in the discussions. The style indicates that diverse views were presented by a student of comparative politics and that in his judgment Kautalya loomed large.

All through this work we have to feel the breath of two persons. The first is the hero, the demi-god, the *avatara*, Kautalya himself. The second is the person who is making Kautalya the subject of his study, propaganda, glorification and what not. This second man may be regarded as Kautalya's editor, publisher, advertiser, etc., as the person who places Kautalya before the world of letters, who institutes comparisons between Kautalya and his precursors, and who narrates to mankind all that his superman is alleged to have accomplished. This man is Kautalya's Boswell,—a St. Paul to the Jesus of Nazareth. Whether there was a Visnugupta, Chanakya, Kautalya or Kautilya we do not know, nay, need not know. His Boswell has created such a living personality, such a veritable *avatara* like Valmiki in his Rama that the actual historicity of Kautalya becomes a question of eighth-rate importance. Thanks to the brilliant propaganda made by this pious Anonym, the *Arthasastra* passed into the literary tradition of India as an integral part of the folk's political consciousness.

The Boswell and the Johnson, the Paul and the Jesus, are two different persons by all means. But they are contemporaries, they belong to the same age like Valmiki and Rama. In the present instance the *Arthasastra* belongs to the Maurya epoch according to the Indian tradition such as has been created by the editor. Thus considered, the situation is quite akin to or rather almost identical with Hillebrandt's hypothesis in 1908 about the school or pupils of Kautalya as being responsible for the *Arthasastra* as compiled in the form in which we have it to-day. The school constitutes, however, the immediate *entourage* of the master himself and does not have to be regarded as any the least remote from him in time.

The Indian tradition about the Kautalyan authorship is not marred by the recognition of the second person, the Boswell, in the *Arthasastra* complex. Nor is the Maurya *milieu* of the work tampered with because of this circumstance. The suggested dichotomy into the editor and Kautalya does not lead us to the position of Winternitz about the negation of Kautalya and the Mauryan origin. In the scheme suggested in the present paper, the Indian tradition does not have to be discarded or modified in any way, because the tradition may have been created by the Boswellism of the editor. Let us go farther.

Even if in the last analysis Kautalya should turn out to be a contemporary of Kalidasa (fourth-fifth century A.C.) and a citizen of the Gupta Empire, the Maurya *milieu* of the *Arthasastra* cannot be negatived by any means. We ought never to overlook the fact that the author or editor of this treatise commences his work by saying categorically that he prepared it by condensing " almost all " the *Arthasastras* that had been composed by " old masters." One does not know how much or how little of originality is to be ascribed to the Kautalyan summary or compilation. But it is reasonable to believe that plenty of data bearing on olden times,—Maurya, pre-Maurya and what not, are to be discovered in this work.

The Indian tradition about the Maurya origin of the *Arthasastra* remains unshaken in spite of the desperate efforts, mostly illogical although learned as they are, of Jolly, Stein, Winternitz, Keith and Johnston.

It is worth while to mention, as has been indicated in other contents, that the controversy has not taken the form of Indian *vs.* European. Among the Europeans themselves there have been two camps from the very beginning. Pre-war indology in Germany, so far as Kautalyalogy is concerned, yielded the following situation :

For Indian Tradition.	*Against Indian Tradition.*
Jacobi.	Jolly.

In the Jolly-Jacobi controversy Hillebrandt was virtually neutral. He did not commit himself to any definite date. At any rate, he did not maintain in so many words that the *Arthasastra* was post-Maurya or un-Maurya.

In that controversy the British indologist Smith was on Jacobi's side although he does not appear to have referred to the latter by name. To the same camp belonged two other British indologists J. F. Fleet and F. W. Thomas.

Subsequent Kautalya scholarship in Germany yields the following situation :

For Indian Tradition.	*Against Indian Tradition.*
Jacobi (unshaken still)	Jolly (aggressive).
Meyer (aggressive)	Stein (somewhat objective and tentative).
Breloer (aggressive)	Winternitz (aggressive).

In this latter-day controversy the British indologist Keith belongs to the Jolly group and is therefore opposed to his compatriot Smith.

Among the British indologists the following grouping may be noticed :

For Indian Tradition.	*Against Indian Tradition.*
Smith	Keith
Fleet	Johnston
Thomas	
Pargiter	
Monahan	

Among Italian indologists both Formichi and Bottazzi are on the side of the Indian tradition. In Mario Vallauri's Italian translation of Book I, there is no discussion of the Kautalya question.

But as the work was done under the guidance of Jolly at Wuerzburg he may perhaps find himself against the Indian tradition. It is interesting that in these things European scholarship goes very often along the lines of *gurus* as in ancient India.

Thus we have already the following:—

	Guru.	*Pupil.*	*Tendency.*
1.	Winternitz	Stein	Against Indian Tradition.
2.	Jacobi	Breloer	For Indian Tradition.

As long as a tradition is there about the Maurya *milieu* of the text and its author it is for the anti-tradition party to adduce internal and external evidences such as may demolish the tradition. Unfortunately, up till now the evidences advanced are poor and mostly in the nature of (1) probabilities, (2) guesses, (3) *argumentum ex silentio*, (4) postulates about the interval between a borrower and his original, (5) comparison with a foreigner who was known in some circles as a liar and whose objectivity is very often questionable, and (6) hypothesis as to the probable degree of the technocratic, industrial, political and juridical developments in pre-Christian India. Naturally, the logic behind such arguments cannot appear to be convincing.

Last but not least, the anti-tradition group is not adequately oriented to the implications of its admission that the *Arthasastra* is the work of a scholar (*Pandit*). In so far as it is such a work it cannot and ought not to be called in for evidence for the objective accounts about social, economic, legal or political conditions. Every attempt on this basis is *ultra vires*.

As for the Indian Kautalyalogists all of whom virtually belong to the pro-tradition group with the exception R. G. Bhandarkar and Pran Nath it is time for them to accept the proposition often referred to in other contexts, namely, that the *Arthasastra* is a *darsanam*, a *sastra*, a book of *vidya* and just like other *sastras* of Hindu literature written by a Pandit. It contains " pious wishes " of all sorts, norms, platitudes, ideals, duties, things that " ought to be " done, and what not, such as belong to every philosophical treatise. Besides, it is impossible to argue out of existence the innumerable hair-splitting groupifications, the hyperlogical discussions *pro* and *contra*, etc., in the manner of the Sakyan (Buddhist) *Nikayas*, for instance, that mark many of the chapters.

The very last chapter of the *Arthasastra* describing the thirty-two *tantra yuktis* is a good illustration of the grammatical mood and ultralogical classifying mentality in which the treatise often appear to us. All these philosophical and logical aspects, be it observed once more, can tally quite well with the profoundly realistic, objective, statistical and statesmanlike grasp of the realities of flesh and blood that constitute the seven-limbed (*saptamga*) organism known as the state.

And finally, this leads to the item to which Indian indologists have likewise need to be adequately oriented, namely, that many of the ideals, *dharma* (duties), norms, etc., expounded in the *Arthasastra* are frankly and hundred per cent. Machiavellian. It is fallacious to believe that "ideals" and "pious wishes" must always be holy, humane, high-souled, or philanthropic as one generally understands them according to one's lights. The Machiavellian ideals are also ideals,—and whatever they may mean,—have never been seriously repudiated in the *Realpolitik* as well as in the political philosophy of the world. As an exponent of Machiavellism Kautalya is in excellent company, Eastern and Western, and the *Arthasastra* is one of the greatest works of mankind in the realm of political ethics or logic (*Staatsraeson*). It is a glory to the Hindu brain that this powerfully conceived philosophical masterpiece on the problems and solutions of group life, of man in society and of man in state, has not been excelled, so far as it goes, in any quarter of the globe and in any epoch of culture-history.

If our Mother India is great and divine because she gave birth to a Sakya the Buddha (Awakened) let us all worship our Mother India as equally great and divine because she produced a V'snugupta-Chanakya, the Kautalya or the Kautilya (Cunning or Crooked). It is in this worship that we do justice to the glorious "positive background" of Hindu sociology as furnishing the folk-elements, the materialistic complex, the worldly group consciousness and the rationalistic perspectives of India's transcendental and spiritual achievements. Kautalya completes Buddha.

BENOYKUMAR SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books

Counter-attack from the East, by C. E. M. Joad. Allen and Unwin Co., Ltd. Museum Street, London.

This is a study of the philosophy of Radhakrishnan and in particular of his 'Idealist view of Life.' Briefly, Radhakrishnan's philosophy may be summed up as an attempt to reconcile the rival claims of science and religion. The intellect seeks to explain the riddle of the universe in terms of mechanical laws and science is the instrument it has forged for the purpose. Any of the findings of science do not however square with those of the religious spirit and yet religion and science seem equally necessary to man.

Radhakrishnan's solution amounts in effect to a denial of the supposed opposition between religion and science. He shows that the separation between them is unreal, for the intellect, if taken in isolation from intuition, is not adequate even to science. In fact, knowledge of the pure intellect inevitably leads to self-contradiction and cannot therefore claim to be ultimate. On the other hand, the religious consciousness of man cannot be denied and is a fact of immediate experience. It has therefore just the same right to consideration as the fact of the rational consciousness. Thus Radhakrishnan tries to show that negatively, the intellect is not adequate to a knowledge of the universe, while positively, intuition is necessary for even empirical knowledge and claims that it can give us knowledge also of the ultimate reality.

This is of course the barest skeleton of Radhakrishnan's argument, and cannot give an adequate idea of the care and thoroughness with which he develops his thesis. Joad has little by way of comment on Radhakrishnan's general position. He is content to give merely a report of Radhakrishnan and present him in a way which Joad thinks will be interesting to the average reader of the West. This is what makes Joad's book so disappointing. Radhakrishnan is the last man who needs anyone else to explain him to others, for his style is remarkable for its clarity and lucidity. Joad himself writes beautifully but it is doubtful if his style is in any way superior to that of Radhakrishnan. In any case we should have expected from Joad a critical estimate rather than a mere newspaper report of the philosophy of Radhakrishnan. Perhaps it might be said in Joad's defence that Radhakrishnan's style reveals a personality so disarming and so full of charm that Joad forgot that a critic is expected to estimate and sometimes even to disagree with his author's findings.

H. Z. A. KABIR

Raghunāthābhyudaya of Rāmabhadrambā edited by T. R. Chintamani, M.A., PH.D., Senior Lecturer in Sanskrit, University of Madras.

The number of historical poems in Sanskrit is small, yet it is gratifying to note that the contribution made by women whose writings are generally rare is quite appreciable. And in this direction as in many others South India has a unique position being the birth place of many authoresses.

About 1367 A.D. there was a king, Kampana by name, ruling at Conjeeveram. His queen was Gaṅgādevi. She wrote a kāvya *Madhurāvijaya* or *Virakamparāyacarita* describing the life of her husband and the history of Vijayanagara. In 1916 it was jointly edited by Pandits H. Harihara Śastri and V. Śrinivāsa Śāstrī.

The present work is also a historical poem by a lady named Rāmabhadrambā. She was a mistress, as says the editor, of Raghunātha Nâyaka, a king of Tañjāpura or Tanjore in the first quarter of the 16th century A.D. The Kāvya itself says (Canto XI) that in his Court there were gifted and talented ladies who were proficient in different branches of learning and could compose works in various languages. One of them was Madhuravāṇī who wrote a compendium of the Ramāyaṇa.

The poem clearly shows commendable poetical merit and good histori.-cal sense of its authoress. Her style is also praiseworthy.

It may be noted in passing that in the work among the names of countries *Vaṅgas* and *Vaṅgālas* (XII. 6) are taken differently.

We are really glad to read the poem for which our thanks are due to the editor, Dr. Chintamani. We also thank the authorities of the University of Madras for starting the valuable Sanskrit series in which so many important books including the present one are published in rapid succession.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

Sgra-la-ḥjug-pa or **Śabdāvatāra**, by Bhikṣu Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana of India and Lo.tsa.ba no. no Tshe.brten.phun.tshogs of Ladak (mar yul). To be had of Kazi a·Phags Tsheriṅg, Bhotiya basti, Darjeeling.

To scholars who are interested in Buddhism in India the name of Bhikṣu Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana is well known. In order to study Chinese and Japanese Buddhism he is now in Japan. He knows many languages. As regards Tibetan there is no Indian equal to him. He crossed not only the shores of India but also her high mountains and visited Tibet twice and learnt there Tibetan Buddhism through that language. He studied Ceylonese Buddhism in Ceylon learning there Pali. He has already given us some volumes on Buddhist literature.

While in Tibet which he wants to visit at least once more to complete the work left there unfinished, he discovered MSS. of a large number of original Sanskrit works, chiefly Buddhist, which were regarded as lost for ever. He has brought some of them with him. And we are expecting to have from him soon two of the most important works included in his collection, *viz.*, *Vādanyāya* of Vasubandhu and Prajñākaragupta's *Vārttikālaṅkāra* on the *Pramāṇavārttika* of Dharmakīrtti. Both the works are going through the press.

The small book before us is a Tibetan grammar, specially meant for Tibetan students in the Tibetan language. The special feature of it is that it is written on the model of a Sanskrit grammar. That it will produce the effect desired we doubt not.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

Old Treasure, a Bible Anthology: New Treasure, a study of Psychology of Love, by the Earl of Lytton, George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London. 1934. 3*s*. 6*d*., and 5*s*. respectively.

In these two volumes there may be detected the same tendency to hold on to love as the mainspring of all religions; the 'old' treasure containing selections from the Bible, the key-note of which has been missed by churchmen and moralists. the 'new' describing the novel ideas and experiments of Homer Lane, an earnest seeker of truth in life. Both the volumes have been prepared very carefully and have an educative value.

The Old Treasure is a Bible anthology ; but the selections have a purpose which it will not do to miss through oversight. The central thought of Christianity at its developed (not primitive) stage is not God's vengeance on the sinner, but His love and mercy. Hence we find throughout "the love of God" deliberately substituted for "the fear of God;" and though the Old Testament is prominent and outspoken in its old-world ideas, even from that the anthologist has with discrimination selected significant passages which bear out his interpretation. The selection has been divided into five sections,—each prefaced by a brief introductory note. The sections are as follows: (1) The God of Nature, in which the forces of nature are graphically described as so many expressions of God; (2) the nature of God, as a helper and comforter or inspirer in human affairs; (3) the Christian year, in which the spiritual significance (as the distinguished anthologist understands it) of the four great festivals of the Christian year—Advent, Christmas, Easter and Whitsuntide—is brought out ; (4) and (5), the quest and finding of wisdom which develops into Christian love. The volume of selections is no doubt small, but it effectively presents the new interpretation, which ought to gain greater currency and which seems to be the only true interpretation in spite of being a "novel" one to many a Churchman more concerned with discipline than improvement.

Even a cursory glance will convince the reader that the healing advice of the Bible is more honoured in breach than in observance, and that the new orientation of views even of devout Christians is still a far cry. One citation in point, I trust, will be permitted.

"They shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks: nations shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." (Isaiah ii. 4)

When will the spirit of this spiritual lesson be absorbed by man and conformed to in practice ?

In the New Treasure, His Lordship has been more subjective and in the first chapter has shown his inheritance, if we may be allowed to word it thus, in the field of thought. Sophocles, Emerson, Stevenson, George Russel, Browning had inspired in him a radiant humanism, but it was Homer Lane, a most complete and fearless exponent of Christian love as a principle of conduct and rule of life, who stirred to life the germs of ideas that had found a congenial soil in his mind. The brief and loving notice of Homer Lane is stimulating, and in the book under review Lord Lytton presents a tendency of thought which he shared with Homer Lane. It is, in short, an exposition of Christian Love which men have all along ignored or corrupted, consciously or unconsciously; and the noble writer cries out against the tragedy of Christ which has been perpetrated. The words penned by him contain an unrefutable condemnation of man the moralist. "The priests of good and evil no longer call themselves Pharisees; to-day they call themselves Christians, but they continue to crucify Christ daily; they still shout their blasphemous accusations against the handiwork of God. The diseases which Christ could heal with a touch have multiplied. The cant and hypocrisy which he denounced are now vested with His authority. The poverty for which He so surely stated the remedy has spread over the world. The mammon with which He pleaded for the recognition of the authority of God is more firmly established than ever as the rival of God in the hearts of men."

But the writer is not cast down on that account ; instead, he sets about dwelling on the redeeming force of Love, panacea of evils, because it does not war on them but transmutes them into gold. There is therefore a discord between the religion of Christ and that of the Christian Churches. Love and fearlessness are the heritage of man, and the book proposes to indicate how they may be found in the gospel of Christ and practised in our everyday life. The Sermon on the Mount has been explained from this view-point, and in a glowing passage which is worth reproducing *in extenso* the writer says:

" The Law of Moses says, ' An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth hate evil and fight against it, repay wrong with wrong and injury with injury.' The Law of Love does not allow resistance. Resistance strengthens. Evil can only be destroyed by love. It is the resistance of moralist to evil—his condemnation of it and opposition to it—which has kept evil strong in the world ; but if you can meet evil with love, it will be disarmed. To cure evil you must not condemn it, not resist it, not ignore it or tolerate it, but meet it with love. To do this you must be capable of detecting and appreciating the misdirected good which has actuated evil as well as the injurious consequences which have flowed from it. To turn the other cheek to a bully who has struck, in the hope of placating him, is not an act of love but an act of fear. To be able to offer the other cheek in love you must have power and no fear, you must be capable of felling the man who has smitten you and only refrain from doing so because love has enabled you to sympathise with his act, however much you may have suffered from it. Not to grudge your coat to one who has forcibly taken your cloak you must be able to spare both and to appreciate the other's need. To go two miles with one who has already taken you one mile out of your way you must have strength to go ten, and time to spend without a grudge."

In passing, it may be said that this contains in a nut shell what approaches very near, if it is not coincident with, the philosophy of Civil Disobedience as enunciated by Mahatma Gandhi.

Moralists have not only tampered with Christ's message and done harm to His religion, but also made sick what had been originally whole, perverted men's mind's and caused diseases which baffle the skill of healing experts. Homer Lane tried, and with success, to re-educate the soul gone astray and therefore preyed on by various diseases, and the process of re-education lay through an appeal to the unconscious mind. Interesting examples of cure effected by Homer Lane through this process are given at the end of the book, to show the results of a philosophy of love followed in practice. The educationist and the healer were at one in him, because he took his stand on the philosophy of love, newly and comprehensively interpreted.

The book thus contains much that is of profound interest to all, and it will be read with profit and enjoyment by the discerning student of Christianity and education. The style is vigorous, compact, occasionally incisive and exhilarating.

P. R. SEN

Annie Besant and the Changing World, by Bhagavan Das, D. LITT. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, India. 1934.

The memory of Annie Besant (1847-1933) has already grown dim, so brief is the career of great men and women in the eyes of the people, specially when they do not know how to revere greatness and are to that extent degenerate. She had passed through fire in her youth and has served apprenticeship for public life under Bradlaugh in the later days of Victorian England. Her richer and more mature life was spent in the service of Humanity through India which she made her home. Her eloquence and power of organization were harnessed to the cause of Brahmavidya, which did not shut itself out from the world but which found its proper outlet or expression in beneficent action for the good of men and women all over the earth.

She passed away at Madras on the 20th September, 1933, and a meeting was held in the Town Hall, Benares, under the presidentship of Dr. Bhagavan Das, on the 1st October next, after her ashes had been taken out in a huge and representative procession headed by Dr. Das and consigned to the Ganges at Benares. The present book is an English rendering of Dr. Bhagavan Das's presidential remarks delivered ou the occasion in Hindustani.

Annie Besant identified herself with the cause of Theosophy. Her indefatigable work for this mission has been mentioned by Dr. Das ; and the capacity for extremely strenuous work, which she showed at times whenever the occasion required it, was simply wonderful. One feels tempted however to enquire whether it was not the inexplicable and magnetic charm of her personality which made Theosophy so popular in her life-time, and whether deprived of her presence and support it is likely to flourish any further as a public movement. The time is not yet, surely, for any final judgment, and it must also be admitted that these remarks apply equally to any mission or movement started by any saint or Carlylean hero ; that weakness or degeneracy is in the nature of humanity, it cannot hold on to the greatness imparted to it by great men. The second part of the title of the book indicates the scope of theosophy, but the reader feels more interested in Annie Besant than in "the changing world."

The book is a translation, but it is in Dr. Bhagavan Das's usual style—replete with choice quotations and abounding with the fulness of phrases in his characteristic way, indicative of his enthusiasm in the cause of Theosophy and India and his devotion to Annie Besant, and whatever is written with enthusiasm is read with zest.

P. R. SEN

The Brahma Sutras (edited with short and easy Sanskrit annotations and an English commentary giving expository and critical summary of the contents), by Sitanath Tattvabhushan, and Satishchandra Chakravarti, M.A., pp. 438 + cxx + (a – c) as *Preface.*

While reviewing some four years ago Pandit Sítanath Tattvabhushan's *Pancharshi* in the pages of this REVIEW, we expressed the hope that that booklet was not the last of its kind from the prolific pen of the Pandit. Happily that expectation has materialised in the shape of the work under review—which is undoubtedly a lasting monument to his critical scholarship and labour of love. "The annotations," we are told in the *Preface*, " were completed as early as 1907 ;" and these "long-completed annotations" have at the time of publication " undergone a thorough revision." Herein the main purpose has been " to find out by an independent study of the aphorisms, helped indeed by Saṃkara's literal exposition of them, what the real philosophy of the Sūtrakāra is, and to expound it in the English *bhâshya* forming the introduction to this book." This qualified acceptance of Śamkara's authority is, however, rendered nugatory when Saṃkarā's " interpretation, based on his doctrine of illusion," appears to the author " often forced and biassed." Whether the basic standpoint of Śankara, his *Welt-anschauung*, lends itself to this construction, or, rather, to the doctrine of phenomenality of the world we shall not offer to discuss here. But indefeasible difference between the two cannot be explained away as a matter of nomenclature, or terminological purism. It is something touching the vitals of two distinct philosophical positions. The view sponsored by our author is neither a negligible, nor an entirely novel one ; but it is certainly not a view which is above criticism.

It is in the fitness of things that having commented previously on the (twelve principal) *Upanishads* and the *Bhagavad gītā*—the first two of the three institutes of the Vedānta' (*Prasthânatrayam*)—he should turn his hands in the direction of the third institute, the *Brahmasûtras*, which is known as the *Nyayaprasthānam*, the stadium of philosophical knowledge. His annotation which has been christened *Rammohan bhâshya*, is professedly "a summary, expository and critical, of all the sixteen pādas of the *sûtras*." In the framing of the topical headings, of sections, etc., he has departed from - the beaten track, and has everywhere justified such departures. The four chapters have been designated as follows: the first, as '*samanvaya*,' the second, '*avirodha*,' the third, '*sâdhana*' and the fourth, '*Phala*.' Each of these again is split up into four quarters, dealing with different topics of philosophical interest. The running summary of all these sixteen *Pâdas*, as they are technically called, will prove eminently instructive even to the philosophically uninitiated, and acquaint all its readers with a fairly accurate meaning of the *Sûtras*. "A clear idea of the entire *Sûtra* teaching will," as it has been rightfully claimed by the Editor, " be got from it even without going through the annotations and their translations."

While we have nothing but unstinted admiration for the clarity and brevity of his exposition, we cannot but note our dissent from some of his observations in the critical portion of the summary. In the context of the ' Motive of Creation' (II. 1. xxxii and xxxiii), the *Sūtrakāra* answers that 'as a king having no wants still acts as a matter of sport, or pleasure, so may God be conceived as acting though without any motive.' Commenting hereon our author observes: " The answer must be pronounced very unsatisfactory. The king takes to sport out of inanity, his vast resources failing to satisfy him. This cannot be said of God " (p. xlviii). This is just the point that the great Āchāryya Saṃkara is concerned to deny. Without initiating an elaborate discussion on the point, what we may conveniently note is the analogy of the creative act to 'Play' or spontaneous activity. The analogy drawn upon in this regard is that of a sovereign lord of all earth, engaged in a game of dice (" *sārvabhaumasya dyûtakrīḍadivat*)." As it is *prima facie* impossible for such a sovereign to play the game and lay a wager with a view to fresh acquisitions, so is the act of the Creator characterised by the absence of all constraint or determination entailed by a purpose, acknowledged or unacknowledged. If the creative act, designated *Līlā*, is to be conceived from the human end at all, the analogy in question is the nearest approximation to the uniquensss and individuality of its Divine prototype. It should be remembered that analogies do not walk on all fours. Furthermore, Sankarāchāryya has taken meticulous care to divest the creative act of the last vestige of 'purposivness' in order to make it applicable to Divine authorship of the world. The whole point of the illustration consists in showing that the activity in both these cases proceeds not from any supposed indigence or 'inanity,' but from a sense of fulness within, from plenitude of powers or possessions.

Again, in reference to the soul's journey along the *Devayāna Path*, the author holds that "the soul reaches successively the regions of Agni, Vayu, Aditya, Varuna, Indra, Prajapati and Brahman. The first six seem to mean Heno-theistic forms of religion—the identification of the Supreme Being with one or another of the Vedic gods until a pure idea of God freed from anthropomorphism is reached in the seventh stage" (pp. cxiv-v). But strangely enough. in his description of this 'seventh stage,' he is, unwarily perhaps, betrayed into the language of anthropomorphism in so far as he clinches the argument with the forceful query: "Can the father keep anything from his son ?" This is, however, the inevitable anthropomorphism of all conceptual thinking and formulation.

We conclude this review with a renewed hope that this critical edition of the *Brahmasûtras* will soon acquire the wide publicity it deserves.

S. K. Das

Evolution of Hindu Moral Ideals: Kamala Lectures, by Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Iyer, C.I.E., LL.D. Published by Calcutta University, 1935.

According to the lecturer's statement in the preface, these lectures were intended to serve the double purpose of refuting the Sanatanist Hindus on the one hand and the Christian critics of Hinduism on the other. The Sanatanists are the extremists within Hinduism who preach the absurd doctrine that Hinduism not only embodies all that is best and highest in man but has never been anything else than the most perfect of human organisations. The lecturer makes short work of these extravagant Sanatanist claims by tracing the evolution of Hinduism through the ages from crude and rudimentary beginnings. As regards the Christian critics, the lecturer has a comparatively difficult task in meeting their charges, and though it will be too much to say that he has altogether succeeded in his avowed object, yet it must be admitted that he has presented the case for Hinduism in as favourable a light as is possible under the circumstances. It must not be overlooked however that in his rôle of a defender of Hindu morals, the lecturer has paid far more attention to positive Hindu morality than to Hindu reflection on Hindu morals and customs. In this respect the title "Evolution of Hindu Moral Ideals" is a misnomer, the lectures being an exposition of the positive morality of the Hindus as it has gradually taken shape through the centuries rather than an exposition of Hindu ethical thought and reflection.

The work is divided into thirteen chapters to which are added a preface and an index both of which are very useful to the reader. The first chapter which is Introductory deals with the baffling question of a sufficiently comprehensive definition of Hinduism. Chapters II-III cover a very wide field and present us with a picture of Hinduism as it has evolved in relation to Woman, Caste, Slavery, Law and Justice, Rulers and Subjects, etc. Chapter IX deals with the Doctrine of Karma, while XI is devoted to the rebutting of the customary charges against Hinduism. Chapter XIII, where the lecturer shines at his very best, is full of constructive suggestions towards a higher and more liberal Hinduism that will meet modern requirements without discarding anything that is of real value in the older traditions.

Hinduism as ordinarily understood, the lecturer tells us, " connotes among other things belief in the authority of the Vedas and other sacred writings of the ancient sages, in the immortality of the soul and in a future life, in the existence of a Supreme God, in the theory of Karma and rebirth, in the worship of ancestors, in the social organisation represented by the four main castes, in the theory of the four main stages of the human life and in the theory of the four Purusārthas or ends of human endeavour " (Introductory Chapter). It is doubtful however whether all Hindus ever did, or even now do, subscribe to all of these beliefs. It is at least certain that many Hindus never subscribed to the theistic dogma of the existence of a Supreme God as the Creator and the Ruler of the universe. Nor is the immortality of the soul in the ordinary sense a universal belief amongst Hindus either past or present. Some of the other views expressed by the lecturer also call for comment. The lecturer's remarks about happiness being the ultimate end of Hindu ethics is an assertion which no competent scholar of Hinduism will be prepared to enclose. The lecturer confidently asserts that " in so far as the condition of the emancipated soul is described as one of ineffable bliss, it may be held that happiness is the ultimate end adopted in ethics." (P. 153). But is "the condition of the emancipated soul" *always* "described as one of ineffable bliss ?" What about Sankhya Philosophers who prefer a negative to a positive description of the *mokṣa* state ? How about those Naiyāyikas who also adhere to the negative view of liberation as freedom from experience and its miseries ? Vais'esikas describe the *mokṣa* state as freedom from the nine specific attributes of the self or Atman, and pleasure or happiness is one of these nine specific attributes which the self becomes free from in the *mukta* or liberated state. The lecturer evidently is obsessed by the Śankarite view of *mokṣa* as a state of unsurpassed blissfulness or Ananda. But Hinduism is certainly wider than Vedantism or Śankarism, embracing as it does not merely Happiness or Blissfulness Theories but also many other theories such as the Nyāya and the Sankhya which have no positive Blissfulness to offer as the essence of the liberated state. What the lecturer says on page 162 about the elements of the imperative also betray some confusion between the conditions of voluntary action and the conditions of the moral imperative. *Iṣtasādhanatājñāna*, etc., which the lecturer confidently describes as the elements of the moral imperative, are only conditions of voluntary action *according to Naiyāyikas*. What the lecturer says on page 143 about the things that have no ascertainabla beginning also show a similar confusion between Śankarism and Hinduism. The distinction between the Lord and the individual soul (*Jiveśabhedah*) is said to be one of those things that are admitted to be without any ascertainable being. But is this really the case ? Do all Hindus admit this distinction ? What about those Sankhya philosophers who consider the question of the existence of God to be incapable of a satisfactory answer ? And how is a beginningless distinction between the individual soul and the Lord to be affirmed when the existence of the Lord remains unsolved and problematic ?

Inspite of these minor inaccuracies, the lectures make good reading as an outline history of Hindu morals and customs. As an exposition of Hindu ethics, however, or as a critical study of Hindu ethical thought as thought, the work is likely to be disappointing to the inquisitive reader.

S. K. M.

Lectures and Addresses, by Rabindranath Tagore. Selected by Anthony K. Soares. Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1928. 160 pp. Indian Edition, Re. 1.

"This little volume is an attempt to bring together in a convenient form a selection from the lectures and addresses of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore *with a view to presenting to the reader a coherent account of his life, thought, convictions and ideals.*" The editor's choice has been satisfactory, though a happy selection from a large number of speeches delivered at different times, in various countries and places and at various stages in the growth of the poet's mind is by no means an easy task. The introduction is interesting and appreciative, and a course through the selections helps the reader towards a fair understanding of the poet's mind and thought, and the editor may feel gratified that his aim has been fully achieved. One wishes these selections were read as texts in our undergraduate classes.

N. RAY

East and West in Religion, by S. Radhakrishnan. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., Museum Street, London. 1933. 143 pp. 4*s*. 6*d*.

This is one of Professor Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan's latest, comprising five lectures and sermons delivered at different places, mostly at the Manchester College, Oxford, and at different times between 1929 and 1931. As usual with Professor Radhakrishnan, the lectures are full of interesting reflections on current problems affecting life in the East and the West, but they deal mainly with the attitudes and approaches to religious life from the standpoints of the East and the West. The author's views on the subject, which in this book is contained in his first four lectures on "Comparative Religion," "East and West in Religion," "Chaos and Creation," and "Revolution through Suffering," are well known. In a way these four lectures are but further illustrations of his idealist view of life enunciated in his Hibbert Lectures. The fifth lecture, that on Rabindranath Tagore, is not so much on the poet, as on the traditional Indian view of life, for in Rabindranath "we find the eternal voice of India, old and yet new." It is here that this lecture comes in as an essential chapter of the book.

N. RAY

The Imperial Silver Jubilee Commemoration Volume (Souvenir Number of the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette*). Edited by Amal Home. Central Municipal Office, Calcutta. Rs. 2.

Of all special editions and souvenir numbers of journals and periodicals brought out in India to commemorate the Imperial Silver Jubilee the one under notice ranks undoubtedly as the most magnificent and best—a volume superb in artistic conception and execution and dignified in the manner of the presentation of its matter, a really "permanent record in words and pictures of a memorable reign and of an empire's homage on its completion of a quarter of a century." A generous contribution generously made by the city-fathers of this second city of the British Empire has been most worthily spent over the production of a volume that is worthy of this great city and of the great occasion as well. As one turns over its one hundred and twenty-eight pages, each one decked with neat half-tones printed in different shades, one admires the editor's standard of artistic excellence and the skill and resourcefulness of both the editor and the printer. Full plates, coloured and monochrome, illustrating royalties, and rare portraits and pictures, interspersed at close intervals, provide a feast to the eyes, and the neat and clear print of the type-scripts is really inviting. It is no vain claim that "every device known to the art of printing has gone to the making of this book." Printed throughout on rich art paper and elegantly bound in silver and blue the volume is a most fine specimen of the Indian book-producer's art.

Equally remarkable are the articles contributed by writers of repute, English and Indian, that have been gathered under different heads. They are fully representative and make up a complete record of the last twenty-five years with special reference to Their Majesties themselves, our own country, and the city of Calcutta. One can find here all about Their Majesties' private and personal life followed by an account of "Twenty-five years a king." But the most eminently readable is the section on "India in Transition" where the history of the Indian struggle has been admirably summed up. This is followed by two well-conceived and well-co-ordinated sections on "India and the Royal House" and the "Story of Calcutta." The last section on "An Empire's Homage" gives a full account of the Jubilee celebration in England and the Dominions, in Calcutta and other places of India. From the historical standpoint the volume has a distinct value and is well worth possessing.

Most fittingly the Mayor of Calcutta, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, writes a Foreword. One feels like congratulating the Editor and the Corporation of Calcutta for the production of such a valuable and magnificent commemorative record of an historic occasion.

N. RAY

Abstract

THE PROGRESS OF ART IN INDIA

In the special Silver Jubilee Number of the MODERN STUDENT (*Calcutta, Monthly*) Mr. O. C. Gangoly contributes a very interesting article on "Twenty-five Years of Progress of Art in India," in course of which he reviews the history of the modern movement in Indian Painting that was initiated by Dr. Abanindranath Tagore. No one else in India is more fitted to write on this subject than Mr. Gangoly who besides having the insight and intellectual equipment necessary for the purpose has been keeping himself all along closely in touch with the movement; indeed he has been one who has himself taken a prominent part in it. The summary he gives has therefore the seal of authority on it, and is the latest and best authentic account within a short compass of the vicissitudes of the modern school of Indian Painting in which Bengal took the most active part. A considerable portion of the article is reproduced below.

"However much we may deplore the mid-Victorian attitude of English educationists to Indian Art, we have to make the grateful admission that the first impulse to create a Modern Indian Art came from an Englishman. To Lord Curzon, the greatest Viceroy, we owe a liberal policy for a systematic survey of Indian Antiquities and a scientific study of India's artistic monuments. To E. B. Havell (whose death we all mourn to-day and to whose invaluable services, we have yet to devise a worthy memorial), we owe the discovery of Indian Art, and the inspiration for the birth of the New Indian School of Painting, led by Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore, C.I.E. Protesting against the futility of borrowing the technique and mechanical formulas of European studios, made fashionable, for a time, by Raja Ravi Varma of Travancore, and Mr. M. V. Dhurandhar of Bombay, Dr. A. N. Tagore successfully demonstrated that the methods, technique, and the conventions of Indian Painting have bequeathed to us a valuable body of artistic heritage which could be easily developed on new lines and novel applications demanded by the changed outlook, intellectual and spiritual, which the new outlook and conditions have brought about in Indian Life and in the ways of living in India. On the solid heritage of the principles of old Indian schools of Painting, Buddhist, Moghul, and Rajput, Dr. Tagore laid the foundation of a living School of Modern Painting, sometime in the year 1896, which has borne rich and varied fruits of diverse tastes and fragrances which have won the admiration and the critical appreciation of the most exacting critics in Europe and America. There is a popular misconception that Dr. Tagore is conservative and retrograde in his outlook. As a matter of fact he has been very liberal and eclectic in his methods, never disdaining to pick up and assimilate lessons from European Art, whenever they have been found useful for the development of his own. His maxim has been: Let Indian Art be *enriched*, but it need not be *dominated* by the ideals and the methods of the West. Indeed, throughout the numerous series of exquisite and poetic miniatures with which he has weaved the garland of Modern Indian Art,—he has utilized the principles of modelling, of spacing, of design and composition, frankly derived from the traditions of Western studios. Yet he has faithfully stuck to the traditions of India, in the methods of linear presentation, the blending and tonality of colour, and in the types of figures, and in the local and indigenous atmosphere of Indian life and thought. He has indeed looked at Indian life from the Indian point of view and visualized the inner gesture and the spirit of Indian life in the true colours of Indian spirituality. Despised and derided by his own countrymen but warmly applauded by English artists and connoisseurs, Tagore slowly built up his New School of Painting ("L'ecole du Calcutta," as his French critics chose to call it), associating with him a group of talented artists, *viz.*,—his own brother Mr. G. N. Tagore, an artist of singular originality, Nandalal Bose (now the Director of the Department of Art, Visva-Bharati University, Santi-Niketan), Asitakumar Halder (now the Principal of the Government School of Art, Lucknow), Samarendranath Gupta (now the Principal of the School of Arts, Lahore), Mukulchandra De (now the Principal of the Government School of Art. Calcutta), and Khitindranath Mazumdar (Head Master of the School of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, Calcutta). Dr. Tagore's triumph came in 1914, when the fruits of his labour, and those of his pupils named above, were sent to Paris, the vortex of the artistic centre of Europe, and submitted to the ruthless judgment of the leading critics who make or mar the reputations of modern artists. A selected group of the works of the Tagore School were exhibited in Pavilion Mason (*Grand Palais*), Paris, and the exhibition was opened by the President of the French Republic. The exhibition of this New Indian School of Painting drew a chorus of encomiums from the French critics and were applauded in the French Press and in the Art Journals. The writer of this article as the sponsor of the Exhibition had to take an intimate part and to collect all the opinions and reviews that were published in the French Press which filled an album of cuttings. But we have space, here, to give a short extract from L'ART DECORATIF, the leading Art Journal of Paris which is available in an English translation: 'The end of art is not merely the reproductions of things we see, but the search for the secret verities which they mask and of which they are the most imperfect expressions. After so many centuries, a Tagore and his disciples again invoke the idealistic principles which have created the Hindu religions.........Their work is full of charm, distinction and meditative repose. They show what can be done by collective effort when it rallies under the influence of a common inspiration. These sincere and well-dowered artists have subordinated the demands of their individual temperaments to giving a new life to the technique and ideals of painting which are proper to India.'

" The praise of the Parisian critics and the comments of the TIMES induced the English connoisseurs in London to bring the Exhibition across the English Channel and the pictures were exhibited at the Imperial Institute, London (May, 1914), and received warm tributes in the English Press—the echoes of which failed to reach India, having been raised on the eve of the Great War, the booming guns of which drowned the spiritual voice of Art and the exclamations of artistic ecstasies. The exhibition drew the attention of English connoisseurs to the necessity of a systematic study of Indian Art and a group of English friends of Indian Art founded the India Society—which has since been an able and emphatic champion of Indian Art in England.

"The success of the exhibitions of the works of the Tagore School in Europe led to enthusiastic interest in the works of these artists in different parts of India. And a representative exhibition of the School held in Madras in January, 1916, at the Young Men's Indian Association (sponsored by Dr. J. H. Cousins) evoked lively discussion in the local press particularly in the columns of NEW INDIA to which critical contributions were made by Prof. Rollo, Prof. W. D. S. Brown, and Principal Hadaway—which helped to popularize the new school and to establish it on the sure foundation of Indian appreciation, "broad-based on the people's will." Many students from Madras, Mysore, the Punjab, the United Provinces and Rajputana flocked to the school of Doctor Tagore, assiduously learning the lessons in the new Art, at the feet of the founder of the school. Of these interprovincial students, K. Venkatappa (Mysore), Hakim Khan (Lucknow), Roopa Krishna (Lahore), Iswari Prasad (Patna), and Kesava Rao (Madras) deserve special mention. These new recruits to the new movement who flocked enthusiastically under the banner of Dr. Tagore helped to spread the movement across the far corners of the Indian continent. More provincial exhibitions followed in different parts of India at Lahore, at Lucknow, at Benares, at Bangalore and even at far-off Colombo. The interest aroused bore rich fruit in the active co-operation of sympathetic collectors and Indian connoisseurs many of whom started buying up finest specimens of modern Indian painting and to build local collections. This was a great necessity as most of the best specimens were snapped by European collectors and were taken away from India—the most important specimens having gone to the collection of Sir John Woodroffe, Sir Herbert Holmwood, Mr. Norman Blount, and Lord Carmichael. The corrective to this exodus of modern Art was furnished by a group of Indian collectors in Calcutta, notably by the Maharaja of Burdwan, the Maharaja of Cooch-Behar and by Mr. P. N. Tagore of Calcutta who now possess some of the finest works of Dr. A. N. Tagore and Nandalal Bose. Of the Indian Collectors outside Bengal who have helped the growth of the movement—the names of Mr. S. V. Mudaliar of Madras, Mr. B. N. Treasurywalla of Bombay, and Mr. Rai Krishna Das of Benares, deserve special mention.

"Dr. Cousin's part in the growth of the movement has been considerable and it was under his inspiration that the Maharaja of Mysore founded a special Gallery of Modern Indian Art—in his Kalasala, which now contain several fine examples of the New School. To the inspiration of the same friend of Indian culture we are indebted for the establishment of a new centre of the new movement—*viz.*, the Andhra Kalasala at Rajhamundry. The widespread interest in Indian Art and the patriotic desire to develop the old Art in new forms of expression in all parts of India, called for provincial leaders and art-teachers to guide the growth of new creative efforts. And many of Dr. Tagore's pupils were summoned from Bengal to take charge of art-revivals in other parts of India. Of this demand the most typical are the migration of Mr. Pramodekumar Chatterjee who went to Baroda to take charge of the Kala-bhavan of H. H. the Gaekwad of Baroda and, later on to Rajhamundry as the Director of Andhra Kalasala and Mr. S. N. De's invitation to the Art centre at Benares. Mr. Pulinbehary Dutt, another of Dr. Tagore's pupils, who won many prizes at the Calcutta exhibitions was invited to Bombay and has been in charge of the Art Department of the Theosophical Fellowship School for several years past and has helped and inspired the growth of Indian Art in diverse forms and shapes.

In the meantime the calls of European friends and admirers have not been neglected. In May 1923, in answer to the invitation of some German friends an exhibition of the representative pictures of new Indian School (a hundred in number) was sponsored by Professor Benoykumar Sarkar in collaboration with the writer. And the collection of Indian pictures was exhibited in the Palace of the Crown Prince, now an *annexè* to the National Gallery in Berlin. Crowds of art-lovers of Germany flocked to see the pictures, and the German Press were full of appreciative notices from the pen of eminent critics such as Dr. Max Osborn, Geheimrat Justi, Dr. A. G. Hartmann, Dr. Paul Fechter, and Dr. Herman Goetz. We have space only for one quotation from Dr. Osborn's review of the exhibition. 'The attention and admiration of the German art-lovers have been aroused by the Indian individuality of the pictures which have come to us. We felt how everything in these works is divided towards the aim of interpreting the peculiar mind and the essential characteristics of the Indian people and to bring them nearer to the conscience of the people. And we recognized this truth:—the old manual faculties, the deep, dreamy sentiments, the distinction and refinement of principles—these elements which were the outstanding features of the grand old Indian Art have not died out. There exist again the forces of art and handicraft to cultivate those elements and to continue them in a new spirit. A new world of enchanted riches and quiet beauty has opened before our eyes. Even more than that: a monument of the great mind and of imaginative creations of a great people was unveiled before us, of a people who steps with strong and crafty hands into the treasuretrove of its past in order to find itself again.'

"The modern movement in Indian Art easily won the critical recognition and appreciation of art lovers all over Europe and the names and the fames of the artists soon travelled across the Atlantic. And in October, 1927, the Secretary of American Federation of Art of Washington (U. S. A.) invited the writer of this article to send out a selected group of paintings by the modern Indian masters for a travelling exhibition through all the important cities of the United States. A small collection of only sixty-five miniatures was sent out and travelled for a period of two years, through thirty cities, drawing admiring crowds and winning appreciative notices and reviews in the local press in each city. The most typical of these appreciative reviews was the one published in the AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF ART (December, 1927) from the pen of Mr. J. Arthur Maclean, Curator of of the Toledo Museum of Art: 'A special word of praise and our thanks are due to the grand family of Tagores, especially to Abanindranath Tagore, whose skill and personality has held together a group of modern artists whose work is so excellent that they will be appreciated the world over. In portraiture, we have the great masterpieces of D. P. Roy-Chowdhury. Behind them all are centuries of India's thought, when, men like this, once saw the gods come down and sit with them in the garden. They are pictures that age may elevate to a position equal to similar works of the famous early schools of painting in India. In reviewing them it is difficult to keep one's feet on the ground because they excite the senses to unwarranted heights of ecstasy due, possibly, to a delicate subtle presentation of subject-matter, a spiritual, or rather religious emanation of suggested thought and a charming intimacy because of the small compass of the pictures and the medium used.' This exhibition in America (in 1927-29), was followed by a one-man exhibition of a series of 12 pictures illustrating the 'Life of the Buddha' from the pen of Mr. Ramendra Chakravarti (Head Master of the Government School of Art, Calcutta, a pupil of Mr. Nandalal Bose). They were shown in all the cities of the State under the auspices of the Art Museums in each city, winning warm praise and admiration. By a fortunate chance, they have been acquired by H. H. The Maharani of Travancore and have not been lost to India, like so many other works of the Modern School. When Mr. Nandalal Bose, left Calcutta to take charge of the Art Department (Kala Bhavan) of the Santiniketan University,—the movement obtained a definite footing in the curriculum of an educational institution. For, hitherto Fine Art in any form or shape has had no place in the Indian Universities, notwithstanding the fact that Dr. A. N. Tagore delivered a brilliant series of lectures as Bageswari Professor at the Calcutta University. Mr. Bose's work and personality have drawn to Tagore's University numerous art students from all parts of India. Of his pupils outside Bengal three have won considerable distinction, *viz.*, V. R. Chitra, Masoji, Konu Desai, P. Hariharan, and Kumari Hathising. But Mr. Bose's best pupils are represented by Dhirendrakrishna Varma, Ramendra Chakravarti and Mani B. Gupta. The growth of the movement and the fame that it won in Europe and America landed the exponents of the School—in the realm of 'politics.' The establishment of their merits naturally led to a claim for a recognition of 'rights.' And it was claimed that the pupils of Dr. Tagore were fully qualified to take charge of the Government Schools of Art in the different provinces as principals of these institutions, posts hitherto reserved for the members of the Indian Educational, Service. Persistent agitation have led to an official recognition of the 'rights' of the talented members of the movement and excepting the one at Bombay, all the posts of the Principals of the Government Schools of Art in India are now held by the pupils of Dr. A. N. Tagore. As Principals the members of this New School of painting have given good account of themselves and have trained numerous qualified artists who have won and are winning fame and distinction in various phases of art and industry. Charu Ch. Roy, an old pupil of Dr. Tagore, has won for him an honoured place in the production of Indian films, while the works of Mr. Jamini Roy, formerly an able worker in Western technique, but now a most conservative adherent to the old traditions of old Bengali *pat* paintings, has given an impetus to new movements in Stagecrafts and theatrical sets and scenarios. To the inspiration of Mr. Samarendra Gupta, Principal of the Government School of Art, we owe the success of A. R. Chughatai, Alla Bux, and of M. Inayat Ullah. Mr. Asitakumar Halder, Principal of the Government School of Art and Crafts, Lucknow, and his worthy associate Mr. Bireswar Sen, (both pupils of Dr. A. N. Tagore) have gathered together a group of talented artists, some hailing from different parts of the United Provinces, and some from Bengal who are building up regional branches of the new movements in Lucknow, and other centres. Similarly, Mr. Deviprasad Roychowdhury, called upon a few years ago to take up the duties of the Principal of the Government School of Art, Madras, has been able to train up another group of young artists from various parts of the Madras Presidency, who are attempting to apply the principles of Indian Art on new ways of development. Chiefly through the efforts of Rai Krishna Das (who with a fine collection of old and modern Indian Paintings has established a Museum at Benares) and Mr. Sailendranath De, a centre of studies has been set up in the sacred city. At this centre, two artists have contributed valuable works, *viz.*, Ram Prasad and Ramgopal Vijayavargiya. In this way, the new movement initiated by Dr. A. N. Tagore about 40 years ago has spread all over India and has established branches in different centres far away from Bengal.

"The success of the New Art movement in Bengal and its ramifications all over India has stimulated the activity of a group of art-students of

Bombay under the able guidance of Captain W. E. Gladstone, Principal, Sir J. J. School (Bombay). Though not accepting *in toto* the doctrines of Dr. A. N. Tagore, the Bombay group of artists have been endeavouring to initiate a new movement in Indian Art in their own way. Without deviating from the principles of *Chiarascuoro* (Lights and Shadows) and the emphasis on meticulous accuracy in anatomical representations, borrowed from the techniques of European studios, the Bombay group has been attempting to interpret Indian scenes and subjects through the forms and methods borrowed from Western painters, somewhat discarding the plastic vernaculars,—the pictorial dialects of India, in the language of which the great Buddhist, Rajput and Moghul Masters have recorded their messages in Art. Mr. M. V. Dhurandhar, formerly Head Master of the Government Art School, Bombay, made some very interesting experiments in which he used the types, and conventions of dress and furniture of the frescoes of Ajanta in new compositions and in novel applications. The contributions of the Bombay School have been particularly valuable in attempts to build up a School of fresco-painting, on modern lines and a school of portraiture and landscape painting. With the exception of Mr. D. P. Roychowdhury and Mr. J. P. Gangoly none of the artists of the Bengal School had made any serious attempts on these popular phases of painting. Bombay has built up a solid tradition in portrait painting which gives it the foremost place in this branch of painting, a position which cannot at present be challenged by any other group in India. The reputation of such able and talented exponents of the art as Mr. Pestonji Bomanji, Mr. Lalcaca, and Mr. Pithawala has reached all the nooks and corners of India. In the field of landscape painting, the position of honour is occupied by Mr. L. N. Taskar, round whom a talented group of younger artists is building up a school of Indian landscape. Among painters of genre and romantic subjects Mr. G. P. Fernandes, Mr. A. X. Trindade and S. N. Gorakshakar deserve special mention. Not belonging to any group, and somewhat dissenting from the ' School of Art ' traditions of the Bombay group, stands Mr. S. Fyzee Rahmin, an artist of considerable originality and an able interpreter of Indian decorative conventions, valiantly upholding the old Indian pictorial traditions somewhat neglected by members of the Bombay School. The Chief of Aundh, whose contribution to modern painting is considerable, is also an ardent adherent to the traditions of the Ajanta School and he is putting together a group of young artists to build up a new style on the basis of the old traditions. In the field of sculpture, the artists of the Western Presidency easily outstrip their brethren in Bengal. The fames of G. K. Mahtre, B. V. Talim, R. K. Phadke and various other exponents of the art stand on the solid foundation of talent and hard industry. In this field, the works of Mr. D. P. Roychowdhury and Mr. Hiranmay Roychowdhury now in the Government School of Art, Lucknow, and, of Mr. Khastagir, very valiantly uphold the reputation of Bengal in the realm of sculpture.

" The latest development in the art revival in India is the new scope and opportunity for employment of Indian artistic talent afforded by the decoration of the India House in London. A special committee was appointed to choose the best mural painters amongst the numerous applicants from all parts of India who claimed the honour of decorating the India House with Indian frescoes. The choice of the committee fell on four eminent artists from Bengal—Mr. Dhirendrakrishna Dev Varma, Mr. Sudhanshu Roychowdhury, Mr. Ranadacharan Ukil and Mr. L. M. Sen. They spent about a year in London and executed a remarkable series of frescoes of Indian symbolic convention and import. Their Indian spirit and decorative beauty won the praise of Sir William Rothenstein (Principal of the Royal College of Art), Mr. G. Holme (Editor of the STUDIO), and other eminent English critics, and justified their choice as representative Indian artists capable of executing responsible civic duties. The great success of the work of Mr. D. K. Deva Varma, the leader of this group of mural painters, has led the Calcutta University to invite Mr. Varma to execute a series of mural paintings on the walls of the Library Hall of the Asutosh building.

"It is a matter of some significance that various lady artists have joined the current movement in Indian Art, for, it is believed that women painters have a peculiar and special contribution to make to the growth of Modern Indian Art. And it is a matter of great gratification to find that several lady artists have won distinction in the field of painting. The name of Srimati Sunayani Devi (sister of Dr. A. N. Tagore), an artist of great originality and distinction, stands pre-eminent amongst the modern artists, outshining, in her talent and vision, many of her male brethren. Of other lady artists who have won distinction, the names of Gauri Devi, Sukumari Devi, Kumari Hathising, Mrs. Sukhalata Rao, Mrs. Hamid Ali, Miss Sheila Banerjee and Mrs. Rani De deserve special mention. It must have been apparent that the movement has embraced all groups, communities, and creeds."

News and Views

[A Monthly Record of News and Views relating to Schools, Colleges, Universities and other Literary, Cultural and Academic Institutions and Movements in India.

World Education Conference

The Government of India and the Provincial Governments, having considered the question of making arrangements for their representation at the World Educational Conference which will be held at Oxford next month, have, it is understood, arrived at the following decision :—

The Government of India do not think that it is necessary to send from India any official of the Department of Education to attend the Conference but at the same time they think that it will be useful to have a representative of theirs at the Conference. They have, therefore, decided to request Sir George Anderson, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, who is now on leave in England, to represent them at the Conference.

The Provincial Governments have informed the Government of India that they do not intend specially to depute any of their officials to represent them at the Conference. Every Provincial Government will, however, request any of the officers of the Indian or the Provincial Educational Service, who may be on leave in England, to represent it at the Conference. Thus, the Government of India and the Provincial Governments will be represented at the Conference without any of these Governments incurring any expenditure for their representation.

Dr. S. N. Das-Gupta in Europe

In course of a press report a London Correspondent writes to the STATESMAN (*Calcutta, Daily*) of the recent activities of Dr. S. N. Das-Gupta in Europe:

I had just had the pleasure of meeting Professor S. N. Das-Gupta, the much-travelled Principal of the Sanskrit College in Calcutta who has represented India during the past 12 or 13 years at International Congress held in Paris, Naples and Harvard and lectured at many of the world's most famous Universities.

He was in London at the virtual conclusion of a comprehensive European tour, and after addressing meetings of the Aristotelian Society and the Royal Asiatic Society, he left to return to India *via* Paris. Some months ago, Professor Das-Gupta was deputed by the University of Calcutta to deliver a series of lectures at the University of Rome and the Oriental Institute in the same city, and all his expenses to and from Italy and whilst in that country were paid by the State, of whom he was an official guest. His lectures were devoted entirely to expositions of the Indian view-point in philosophy, religion, culture and ancient scientific knowledge, and he told me he was extremely gratified at the presence of many of the leading Italian philosophers and Indologist.

It was also apparent, he said, that there is in Italy a great feeling of enthusiasm and reverence for the ideals of Yoga and Indian spiritualism. A notable example of this was seen at the meeting at which the Rector of the University gave the Professor a special message to the University of Calcutta and concluded by saying that he paid his humble homage to the eternal elements of Indian civilization and culture. One of his most interesting lectures in Rome was that which he delivered before the International Congress of the History of Science. A friend living in Rome wrote and told me at the time that the lecture had become " the talk of the day" in the Italian capital and I little thought that I should later meet the Professor in London.

During his stay in Rome, which was scheduled for a fortnight and lasted a month, Professor Das-Gupta was almost continuously entertained at receptions and parties of every description. There was similar enthusiasm in Milan and Vienna, where he addressed meetings at the respective universities, and in the latter city he was confronted with invitations from practically every university in Europe. Only a few could possibly be accepted, including Breslau, Konigsberg, Berlin, Bonn and Cologne, and in every instance he was welcomed by distinguished gatherings of professors and public men. In Berlin, where there is a particularly large Indian colony, there was a special reception at which every phase of oriental culture was represented.

If I can judge by letters from friends who attended Professor Das-Gupta's lectures in various cities, the cause of India abroad would be better served if more intellectuals of the professor's type, and fewer politicians, were sent on tour as the country's representatives abroad.

Assam's Plan for University

It is understood, Mr. D. E. Roberts, M.A., I.E.S., ex-Principal of the Murarichand College, Sylhet, will be appointed as a special officer to prepare the scheme for the proposed Assam University. His Excellency Sir Michael Keane, it will be remembered, referred about it in his last speech at the Assam Legislative Council. Mr. Roberts is now on leave in England and after the completion of his leave, he will visit some of the European Universities to see their working method after which he will come back and begin his enquiry in Assam.

The Indian Science News Association

The Indian Science News Association was recently inaugurated at a meeting at the Calcutta University Science College over which Sir P. C. Ray presided. The object is to disseminate scientific knowledge among the general public.

As Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, Vice-Chancellor, could not attend, his speech was read by Mr. S. C. Ghosh, Secretary of the Post-Graduate Department of Arts. It stated that a second object was to express unbiassed opinions on industrial measures likely to affect the lives of the people. Dr. Meghnad Saha of Allahabad University said that the association would thus complete the programme started by the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee when he laid the foundation of the University of Science. The Association had already received Rs. 10,000 from patrons and enrolled 100 life-members, each paying Rs. 100.

For the present it hoped to publish SCIENCE AND CULTURE monthly and to sustain a spirit of enquiry and to maintain a lively spirit of discussion among those engaged in scientific pursuits among teachers in schools colleges and research institutes. Sir P. C. Ray was provisionally elected president, with Sir U. N. Brahmachari and Dr. S. C. Law as vice-presidents and Dr. Meghnad Saha and Dr. B. B. Roy as joint honorary secretaries.

Burmese Language in Rangoon Matric

The question of making Burmese the only recognized vernacular language for matriculation was recently discussed at a meeting of the Senate of the Rangoon University.

The Senate passed a resolution stating that in 1935, 1936 and 1937 candidates who passed in languages other than Burmese be matriculated only if the Director of Public Instruction certifies that satisfactory provision for the teaching of Burmese was not made in the school or schools which they attended, and that for Matriculation in the University in 1938 and thereafter the vernacular language or languages required should be the vernacular language or languages recognized for the related High School examinations of the Province. The Senate, in this connection, noted that Government, while encouraging the teaching of Burmese, had continued to recognize vernaculars and second languages other than Burmese in the school system. It will be recalled that when the question of making Burmese compulsory was announced, the Indian community strongly protested against it.

Oriental Manuscript Collection

The Curator for the Publication of Oriental Manuscripts, Travancore, recently proceeded to Mysore, Baroda and Kashmir, to study their systems of preservation and maintenance of manuscripts. The Department for the Publication of Oriental Manuscripts has been functioning for over 25 years and has collected nearly 3,000 rare *granthas.* Some of these have been gathered under novel circumstance . A commentary of the *Sama Veda Bhashya* was floating down a river near Shenkotta when the Curator and his assistant were bathing. Swimming out the curator and his assistant brought in the scattered palm leaves, to find them to be portions of a precious commentary. The Department has published over 160 works during its existence and some manuscripts are 1,200 years old. Last year 34 rare and unpublished Sanskrit works and 11 Malayalam manuscripts were added to the collection.

Vincent Massey Scholarship

It has been announced that on the recommendation of the Vincent Massey Scholarship Committee, His Excellency the Viceroy has been pleased to award the Vincent Massey Scholarship for 1935-1936 to Dr. Muhammad Abdul Hameed Siddiqi, Professor of Anatomy, King Georges Medical College, Lucknow, for study and research in Anatomy.

In the past the Massey Scholarship had been awarded to:—Mr. E. L. Jordan, of the Allahabad University, Professor, Lucknow Christian College, for the study of Zoology; Mr. M. D. Shahane, of Bombay University, Member, Servants of India Society, for the study of problems of Local Self-Government; Mr. P. C. Addy, of the Calcutta University, Professor, St. John's College, Agra, for the advanced study of the History and Mr. Lakhpat Rai Sethi, Professor, Dyal Singh College, Lahore, for study in Political Science.

Disagreement between Bombay and Madras Universities

The Registrar of the Bombay University has issued the following authoritative statement with regard to the admission of students of the University of Madras to courses of study in the Bombay University:—

" In the year 1933, the University of Madras refused admission to a student who migrated from this University and sought admission to the courses of study leading to the B. A. degree of that University. That student had passed the Intermediate Arts Examination of this University, which till then had been recognized as equivalent to the corresponding examination of the Madras University. On a representation made by the student to the Registrar of this University, the latter inquired of the Registrar of the Madras University as to the reason why the student in question had been refused admission, and the reply received was that the student had not obtained second class marks, and that no student who failed to obtain second class marks was eligible for admission. It was pointed out to the Registrar of the University of Madras that this University had recognized the Examinations of the Madras University without any restrictions as to class or percentage of marks. As the Madras University maintained that it was for them to lay down any restrictions they chose, this University on a consideration of the whole matter decided to withdraw the recognition of all examinations of the University of Madras. The result of this decision was that in September 1934, the Registrar of the University of Madras wrote to say that his University had agreed to recognize the Examinations of this University as equivalent to the corresponding Examinations of the Madras University without any restriction as to the class or percentage of marks. In consequence of this action, on the part of the Madras University, this University promptly withdrew its ban. On May 4, 1935, a letter was received from the Registrar of the University of Madras pointing out that the question of the recognition of the Examinations of other Universities had been receiving the attention of the Syndicate of the Madras University and that the M.A., D.L., M.D., and M.S. degrees were not open to students of other Universities. He further pointed out that the new Ordinance cancelled the decision of the Syndicate communicated in their letter of September 15, 1934, though the position practically remained unaltered.

"This letter was immediately placed before the Vice-Chancellor for necessary orders. The Vice-Chancellor in exercise of his emergency powers, passed orders that the M.A., M.D., and M.S. degrees of this University should not be open to the students of the University of Madras.

" The authorities of the University could have withdrawn its recognition of all the Examinations of the Madras University if they had so desired, but at the last meeting of the Academic Council and the Syndicate it was decided that this University should not come to any final decision, pending the result of the negotiations for an amicable settlement now proceeding between the authorities of the two Universities.

" The position therefore at present is that the students of Madras will only be entitled to provisional admission which is liable to be cancelled if as a result of the refusal of the authorities of the Madras University to restore the *status quo*, this University is eventually compelled to withdraw its recognition of all the Examinations of the Madras University."

Closely following the Bombay Registrar's statement a communiqué has been issued by the University of Madras regarding the reciprocal acceptance of degrees by the Universities of Bombay and Madras, and enunciating the policy followed by the Madras institution.

The University, in conformity with the provisions of the Acts governing its constitution, says the *commnniqué*, prescribed the laws governing the admission of students to courses, which lead up to University examinations for degrees, diplomas and certificates.

Quoting the relevant portion of the Madras University Act the *communiqué* recalls the resolution of the Inter-University Board which met in February, 1933, and March 1934, the latter of which stated " that it be a recommendation to the Universities in India that each examination which represents a completed stage of education—for example, the Matriculation or its equivalent, the Intermediate and the Degree examinations—be recognized by all the Universities subject to the proviso recommended by the Board in 1933." The *communiqué* observes these resolutions were considered by the Madras University, which modified its laws so as to secure, for the purpose of admission to courses of studies in this University, what it considered to be as complete a measure of acceptance as possible of the degrees of other Universities as the equivalent to its own degrees, bearing in mind the proviso laid down by the Inter-University Board.

The *communiqué* includes a statement to show that a large measure of reciprocity had been reached for certain examinations and degrees of the Madras University open to undergraduates and graduates of other Universities. The *communiqué* proceeds: "The only degrees which are not open to graduates of other Universities are M.A., M.D., M.S., LL.D. Under the present laws of the University, a student of this University who has taken a B.A. (Honours) degree proceeds to the M.A. degree by efflux of time. Under the transitory regulations, graduates who have taken a B.A. (Pass) degree of this University may, two years after qualifying for the B.A. (Pass) degree, take the M.A. degree examination in an Arts subject without studying further in a college. This privilege expires in 1937. The conditions under which M.A. degrees are awarded in this University are, however, now under fresh consideration, and there is a proposal now going before the Standing Committee of the Academic Council to modify the present M.A. degree transitory regulations so as to permit of graduates in Arts of other Universities being recognized for admission to the post-graduates honours courses, for the purpose of appearing for the M.A. degree of this University. The LL.D., degree can be conferred either *honoris causa* or by approval of a thesis. The preliminary qualification for candidates is the possession of the M.L. degree of this University. No M.L. graduate of the Madras University has so far presented a thesis for this high degree. The M.D. and M.S. degrees are high professional degrees in medicine and surgery and in conformity with the practice in many other Universities, the University of Madras has restricted admission to its M.B. and B.S. degree holders."

Indian Students Abroad

" There does not seem to be sufficient appreciation by parents and guardians in India of the suffering and hardship inflicted on students who are sent out to foreign countries without adequate financial provision for their maintenance." This observation is made by the High Commissioner for India, London, in forwarding to the Government of India the 1933-34 report on the work of the Education Department, London, submitted by Dr. Thomas Quayle, the Secretary to the High Commissioner, Education Department. No less than 23 students had to be repatriated by the High Commissioner during the year, while 57 received financial assistance from the Indian Students' Loan Fund Committee. The number of students who were in financial difficulties, but did not seek assistance from this office, was probably much larger. The High Commissioner feels obliged once again to impress upon all parents and guardians the importance of assuring themselves that adequate financial resources will be availble before deciding to send out their children for study in Europe. Financial worries not only prevent the students from deriving full benefit from their stay in this country, but often result in serious illness. The High Commissioner has, as in previous years, been able to arrange for practical training in the various branches of engineering and technology in the case of the majority of students who have applied to him for assistance.

There has been no reluctance on the part of industrial firms to grant facilities except in cases where secret processes, severe trade competition, and trade-union regulations, were involved. As Dr. Quayle has remarked, " manufacturers, in this country or on the Continent, can scarcely be expected to offer to potential competitors free access to special methods, usually evolved only after a period of long and expensive research and trial." This analysis fully confirms the conclusion arrived at by the High Commissioner after an examination of the question last year, that there is no justification for the belief that any discrimination is exercised against Indians in regard to admission into engineering and other firms.

The record of Indian successes, academic as well as athletic, continues to be excellent. " India has every reason to be proud of the achievements of her sons, especially of those who come to this country for post-graduate study."

The report continues

" Further testimony to the generally high standard of the students pursuing courses at educational institutions here is reflected in the lists of academic and other successes which they have achieved during the period under review. It would appear that the students who leave India for further studies or training abroad are certainly not always, or even generally, as is sometimes supposed, of inferior qualifications or calibre, but that on the contrary the large number engaged on post-graduate work reflects the fact that, after taking good degrees at their home universities, they have come here to do research or advanced work for which the necessary facilities may not always be available in India.

" But the question must once again be posed, as it often has been, whether this exodus of so many of the young men of India is still necessary or desirable. For it must be remembered that, in addition to the large number in this country, there are probably at least 200 Indian students at the Universities in the United States of America, and in Europe. Thus in any year, probably not far short of 2,000 young men are under present conditions exiled for a period from their motherland, removed from the healthy influence of home and family, usually at their most impressionable age, and faced, as many of them are, with great difficulties in obtaining employment, however satisfactory their qualifications may be, when they return to India. To pose this question is only to realize its difficulties. Each year a large number of Indian students, equipped with excellent and in many cases exceptional qualifications, returned home. For the restricted openings in Government service or in private enterprise they have to compete with the enormous number of students who have stayed at home and have graduated in all Faculties at the Indian Universities. The question of employment and openings for her well-qualified young men, whether trained at home or abroad, is, in my opinion, perhaps one of the most urgent which the new India of the immediate future will have to face. For it is obvious that the solution of what is sometimes called the 'Indian student problem' can only be found in India itself. So far as the students, who feel compelled to proceed abroad, are concerned, the Indian Universities can and are playing their part by raising their standards and by providing the necessary facilities for higher and advanced work in all branches. But something more is needed, and that is the growth in India of a sound and strong public opinion that the young Indian student can best serve his own interests and that of his motherland by staying in his own country unless and until there is a very real need for him to go abroad for further study or training, or for intellectual stimulus."

International Congress of Libraries and Bibilography, Madrid

The second International Congress of Libraries and Bibliography concluded its momentous session on 31st May last at Barcelona. It commenced its sittings at Madrid on 19th May, 1935. 510 delegates attended from 33 countries of the world of whom 60 were official representatives of their respective Governments. The Congress was opened at the Madrid University by the Education Minister. Sectional meetings were held simultaneously for a number of days where various aspects of the movement were discussed and the resolutions recommended by the different sub-committees were adopted at the last meeting held in Barcelona. The only Indian representative, Kumar Munindra Deb Rai Mahasai, M.L.C., was accorded a cordial welcome on the opening day and he was the first speaker to speak on the Library Movement in India. State Receptions were given by the President of the Spanish Republic at the Madrid Royal Palace, by the Minister of Foreign Affairs at his palace, by the Mayors, Universities and National Bibliothecas of Madrid, Salamanca, Seville, Barcelona and other cities of Spain. The National Bibliothecas of Paris and Rome also arranged Receptions.

A National Academy for India

Dr. Kalidas Nag, M.A. (CAL.), D.LITT. (PARIS), of the University of Calcutta, in dedicating a special number of his journal, INDIA AND THE WORLD, to L' ACADEMIE FRANSAISE on its tri-centenary to be celebrated this year, makes an appeal for a united Indian Academy for the whole nation.

"It is high time," says Dr. Nag, "that some serious attempt should be made to integrate, into a central Indian Academy, the creative activities of the nation in the domain of Science and Letters. There are in existence already, for many years, our '*Sahitya Parishads*' representing the important languages and literatures of India. The All-India platform for these regional literary academies has not yet been created. The All-India Orientalists Conference is trying to keep pace with the All-India Science Congress, the All-India Philosophical Congress and such other associations of great potentiality. But there is no central sanctuary in India where the devotees of Science and Arts may bring their offerings, forgetting the differences of their technique and temperament of their caste and creed. Such a sanctuary cannot be localized in any single province or city in our case. It may grow like our Indian National Congress holding its sessions each year in a particular locality, focussing the national mind on some important region and at the same time co-ordinating the activities and aspirations of India as a whole from year to year.

" We have recently failed in our attempt to build an Indian Academy of Science, split up, very unfortunately, into the Northern and the Southern divisions. So in our attempt to build an Academy of Letters or an Indian Academy embracing Arts and Sciences, we may meet with similar difficulties, nay greater obstacles. But it is an endeavour long overdue and our failures here are certainly more welcome than the present morass of disintegration and vacuity.

" India of the past is taking her legitimate place in the corridor of History, triumphing over temporary oblivions and distortions. And may India of to-day aspire to build her Academy for the generations to come and for Eternity."

Dr. Nag's appeal has been warmly received everywhere in India, by the Indian and Anglo-Indian Press alike, by our intellectuals and our leaders in public life. The *Times of India* (Bombay, daily) of 17th July last writes appreciatively as follows:—

> "The eloquent plea of Dr. Kalidas Nag of Calcutta University for the foundation in India of a central academy on the lines of *L'Academie Française* to integrate, as he puts it, 'the creative activities of the nation in the domain of Science and Letters,' deserves more than a mere echo of approval. In view of the differences recently revealed among scientific luminaries it would probably be better to concentrate on the literary aspect. But there can be no doubt that a focal point such as that proposed for Indian culture could be a potent force for progress and unity in the future. Such inspiration of the kind as there has been in the past has revolved rather vaguely and spasmodically around the home of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. That in itself was not inappropriate; yet it was more a tribute to the greatness of a person than the natural channel of national self-expression. Authorship has as yet a poor reward in India, but there are ample signs of progress and development that promise well.
>
> The formation of an Indian Academy at an early stage like the present could provide for work of inestimable value in protecting and fostering the growth of national letters on lines peculiar to the natural genius of the people as well as appropriate to a changing India. Undoubtedly there lies beneath the dust of ages and many second-rate outpourings of the present day a wealth of traditional culture which, grafted on to things of worth in modern civilisation can, if encouraged, contribute a literature and philosophy second to none. But there is need in this as in other things for the creation of a true sense of values both in literary appreciation and literary production. This an Indian Academy organised on truly national lines and sincerely devoted, without prejudice either communal or provincial, to letters in themselves could surely stimulate.

Indian Science Institute

Colonel C. T. C. Plowden, British Resident in Mysore, presided over a recent meeting of the Council of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore (July 22), when the annual report for the session 1934-35 was presented. All members of the Council were present, including Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University, and Sir P. C. Ray.

The report shows that the total income for the year was Rs. 5,45,064, including the following grants: India Government Rs. 1,50,000; Mysore Government, Rs. 35,000; Madras Government, Rs. 5,000; Hyderabad, Rs. 20,000 and the Central Provinces, Rs. 1,500. The Imperial Council of Agricultural Research have given a grant of Rs. 3,010 for carrying out two small schemes in the Bio-Chemistry Department of the institute. The expenditure for the year was Rs. 6,57,941, thus exceeding the income by Rs. 1,12,317. The steady increase in expenditure in the past few years is due partly to the growing expenditure on scientific departments and the increase in the number of salaried officers and servants of the institute, while the drop in the normal annual income of Rs. 6,00,000 is chiefly due to the reduction in the Mysore Government grant from Rs. 50,000 to Rs. 30,000 and the diminution of income from Bombay properties and from investments by about Rs. 25,000.

Ourselves

[I. New Affiliations—II. Imperial Institute of Agricultural Research—III. Our University and the Weaving Industry in Bengal—IV. Mr. Apurvakumar Chanda—V. Teachers' Training Department—VI. Proposed Agricultural Institute at Rajshahi—VII. Sir Asutosh Medal in Letters, 1934—VIII. Universities Bureau of the British Empire—IX. Prativa Devi Medal—X. Teaching of Assamese in our University—XI. Radhikamohan Scholarship, 1935.--Notifications.]

I. NEW AFFILIATIONS

In extension of the affiliation already granted the Chittagong College has been affiliated to this University in Bengali as Second Language to the B.A. standard, and La Martiniere, Calcutta, in French and Commercial Geography to the I.A. standard, with effect from the commencement of the session 1935-36.

The Gurucharan College, Silchar, has been granted affiliation in English, Vernacular (Bengali), Sanskrit, Persian, History, Elements of Civics and Economics, Logic and Mathematics to the I.A. standard, with effect from the commencement of the academic session 1935-36.

The All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health, Calcutta, has also been affiliated to impart instruction in subjects for the D. P. H. of this University. It has also been recognised as an institution competent to present candidates for the annual examination for the Degree of Doctor of Science in Public Health.

* * *

II. IMPERIAL INSTITUTE OF AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH

The Director of the Imperial Institute of Agricultural Research, Pusa, wrote to the University, some time ago, enquiring if the University would recognise the research work done by scholars at the Institute, as part of the work for the degree of Ph.D. or D.Sc. of the University. The University have, however, agreed to recognise such research work and admit candidates from the Institute for research degrees, but have decided to limit such recognition to those graduates alone who hold M.A. and M.Sc. degrees of the University. The Syndicate in one of their recent meetings considered this subject of recognition at some length and resolved that graduates holding M.A. and M.Sc. degrees of this University and working at the Imperial Institute of Agricultural

Research would be allowed to submit theses for the Ph.D. and D.Sc. degrees respectively provided they fulfilled the following conditions:

(*a*) That they have passed the M.A. or M.Sc. examination, as the cases may be, either in the First or in the Second Class

(*b*) That three years have elapsed from the time when they passed the M.A. or M.Sc. examination, as the case may be

(*c*) That they work at the Institute for at least two years

(*d*) That they have obtained previous permission of the University, and

(*e*) That each candidate will have to comply with the general rules and regulations governing the award of the degrees of Ph.D. and D.Sc.

* * *

III. OUR UNIVERSITY AND THE WEAVING INDUSTRY IN BENGAL

The Secretary to the Board of Economic Enquiry, Bengal, has recently addressed the University on the subject of a proposed Survey of the Weaving Industry in Bengal by the Bengal Board of Economic Enquiry. The Board feel that in making a proper survey the agency of the students of the University in the vacation periods may profitably be employed ; they have, therefore, thought it necessary to obtain a provisional opinion of the University whose active help and co-operation they think to be essential. The Syndicate have welcomed the proposal and informed their willingness to co-operate in the matter. They have also requested the Secretary to furnish details and the questionnaire on the subject as also the number of students required for the purpose.

* * *

IV. MR. APURVAKUMAR CHANDA

We are glad to record that Mr. Apurvakumar Chanda, M.A. (OXON.), has been re-nominated to be an Ordinary Fellow of this University with effect from the 11th August, 1935. He has been attached to the Faculty of Arts, and appointed a member of the Board of Studies in English.

* * *

V. Teachers' Training Department

The Teachers' Training Department was formally opened on 15th July last by the Vice-Chancellor in the presence of members of the Syndicate, the School Committee, the Advisory Committee of the Syndicate, the Post-Graduate Department, and of Head Masters of Calcutta High Schools and students and staff of the newly-created Department. The Vice-Chancellor in a short speech explained the aims and objects of the Department and expressed the hope that through the active co-operation of all connected with secondary education in Bengal, this Department would be able to materially help the cause of re-organisation of secondary education in this province.

Mr. A. N. Basu, B.A. (CAL.), M.A. (LOND.), T.D. (LOND.), has been appointed Lecturer-in-charge of the Department. Mr. Basu had been a teacher in Santiniketan for several years before he went abroad for higher studies in Education. He has travelled widely in England, on the Continent and in the United States of America where he has studied the educational systems of different countries. After his return he was appointed Assistant Professor in the Teachers' Training College, Hindu University, Benares, whence he comes to join the present appointment. Mr. K. K. Mukherji, M.A., B.T. (CAL.), Diploma in Spoken English, has been appointed Assistant Lecturer. They are being assisted by a number of part-time Lecturers from other departments of this University. The department has also been able to secure the honorary services of men like Mr. W. C. Wordsworth, Mr. J. N. Sen and others.

Arrangements have at present been made for short term course extending over three months, and accommodation has been provided for seventy-five students. It has been arranged to make the course as complete and practical as possible under the circumstances. The course is open to under-graduates, but preference will be given to graduates and to those who are already in the profession. That the department is going to be popular is indicated by the fact that inspite of the shortness of notice about two hundred applications were received, of which seventy-five only could be accepted.

VI. PROPOSED AGRICULTURAL INSTITUTE AT RAJSHAHI

A draft scheme for establishing an agricultural institution at Rajshahi, to be known as Kumar Basantakumar Ray Institute, with a view to imparting education on agriculture and other allied industries, is at present under consideration of the Government of Bengal in the Ministry of Education. It has been decided that on the completion of the courses an examination test, both theoretical and practical, shall be held by a Board consisting of, amongst others, the Director of Public Instruction and the Director of Agriculture, Bengal, and certificates will be awarded to those students who will come out successful at the examination. In this connection the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, wrote to the University, some time ago, enquiring if the University would be inclined to extend their affiliation to the Institute and be agreeable to award any certificate or diploma to the students coming out successful in the Final Examination of the Institute. The University, we understand, have signified their willingness to co-operate for the successful working of the scheme and for its extension ; but they do not think it possible to grant any diploma or certificate unless the examination is held under their authority, nor can they grant recognition to the Institute until the Regulations are suitably modified. The matter, it is understood, has been referred to a committee consisting of the following gentlemen :—

Syamaprasad Mookerjee, Esq., M.A., B.L., BAR.-AT-LAW, M.L.C., Vice-Chancellor.
The Director of Public Instruction, Bengal.
Bidhanchandra Roy, Esq., B.A., M.D., M.R.C.P., F.R.C.S. (LOND.)
Prof. W.S. Urquhart, M.A., D.L., D. LITT., D.D.
Pramathanath Banerjee, Esq., M.A., B.L., BAR.-AT-LAW.
Prof. Hemendrakumar Sen, D.SC.
Director of Agriculture, Bengal.
Rai Bahadur Bijaybehari Mookerjee, M.A.
J. N. Gupta, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S. (RETD.).
Girijaprasanna Majumdar, Esq., M.SC., B.L.

* * *

VII. SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE MEDAL IN LETTERS, 1934

The Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Medal in Letters for the year 1934 has been awarded to Rao Sahib Dr. V. Ramakrishna Rao, M.A., L.T., PH.D. (CAL.), for his thesis on "Neo-Romanticism in the Post-Victorian Lyric." We congratulate Dr. Rao on his well-earned distinction.

* * *

VII. UNIVERSITIES BUREAU OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

Of the eighteen Universities of India only eight, namely, Andhra, Annamalai, Calcutta, Madras, Osmania, Panjab, Patna and Rangoon, are members of the Universities Bureau of the British Empire, and each one has a representative in the Bureau. The University of Calcutta is represented by Sir William Ewart Greaves, one of our most popular ex-Vice-Chancellors.

The Indian Universities are represented in the Executive Council of the Bureau by three members, and every year the member-universities are called upon to nominate them from among the eight representatives. The next election to the Executive Council for 1935-36 will be held on 28th September next when the Annual General Meeting of the Association takes place. Our University have nominated the three following gentlemen for election to the Council:—

Sir William Greaves, KT., M.A.
Sir Bhupendranath Mitra, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., C.B.E.
(representing the University of Madras).
Professor Sir S. Radhakrishnan, M.A., D.LITT.
(representing the Andhra University.)

* * *

IX. PRATIVA DEVI MEDAL

Mr. Umakanta Goswami, Professor, Cotton College, Gauhati, has recently written to the University offering 3 per cent. G. P. Notes of the face value of Rs. 500 for creating an endowment in memory of his wife, the late Srimati Prativa Devi, for the annual award of silver medal to the student who stands first among the candidates appearing in Economics Honours from the affiliated Colleges of Assam. The medal shall be known as the Prativa Devi Medal.

The offer of Mr. Goswami has been accepted with thanks by the University.

* * *

X. TEACHING OF ASSAMESE IN OUR UNIVERSITY

The Director of Public Instruction, Assam, recently wrote to the University stating that the Assam Legislative Council had passed a resolution recommending that arrangements should be made for teaching Assamese (Vernacular) to the Assamese students now studying in Calcutta, and enquiring in that connection if it would be possible to make arrangements for the appointment of an Assamese Lecturer in Calcutta University, and if so, on what pay, and whether the University would agree to bear half the cost.

The University, in reply, have pointed out that they already maintain a teacher in Assamese for Post-Graduate work ; but have added that they will be glad to co-operate with the Government of Assam in the matter by providing for undergraduate classes in Assamese. The salary of the teacher for the purpose should be fixed at Rs. 100 per month and the Government of Assam should bear the cost. The fees from students, if charged, will of course be credited to the Government of Assam.

* * *

XI. RADHIKAMOHAN SCHOLARSHIP, 1935

The Radhikamohan Educational Scholarship for the year 1935, of the value of Rs. 5,000 tenable for two years has been awarded to Mr. Sudhirlal Mukhopadhyaya, M.SC., for the study of manufacture of Starch, Glucose and Dextrine.

In case Mr. Mukhopadhyaya fails to avail himself of the award, the scholarship will be awarded to Mr. Nanigopal Chakravarti for the study of manufacture of different types of screws, steel hinges and such other steel products.

NOTIFICATIONS

(*i*) *Carnegie Corporation Grants, 1936-37.*

In accordance with a decision of the Executive Council of the Universities Bureau, taken at its meeting on 24th November, 1934, three Carnegie Corporation Grants of £400 each will be available for the year 1936-37. These Grants are awarded to members of University staffs, whether administrative or teaching, to enable them to visit Great Britain for such research work or special investigations as may be approved by the Executive Council.

The Council consider that the arrangements which were made for the distribution of those Grants in previous years may suitably be repeated for the Grants for the year 1936-37 and have again invited the co-operation of Regional Conferences and Committees. In Canada, Australia, South Africa and India, the nominations made by any University as well as by the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, should, if the Regional bodies are agreeable, be sent by the academic head—the Vice-Chancellor or other official of similar standing—to the National Conference of Canadian Universities, the Vice-Chancellors' Committee of the Australian Universities, the Vice-Chancellors' Committee of the South African Universities, and the Inter-University Board of India, as the case may be, in time to allow of their proper consideration by those bodies and to permit of their reaching this country not later than the end of March, 1936. From the nominations received they have been asked to forward to the Bureau the names of two, in order of preferance to whom they consider the Grants may most suitably be awarded. Universities of the Empire in regions other than those mentioned should if they desire to make nominations forward them direct to this Bureau before the end of March, 1936. On a consideration of all the nominations received, the Executive Council will again select the three to whom these Grants are to be made.

In submitting recommendations, either to Regional Conferences and Committees or to the Bureau, applications should contain:—

(*a*) A '*curriculum vitae*' of the applicant;

(*b*) The purposes for which he proposes to utilise the grant, and his proposals for study or investigation;

(*c*) Copies of two testimonials and, if possible, the names of two references resident in Great Britain or Ireland;

(*d*) A statement to the effect that the candidate will, if he obtains the grant, pledge himself to return to the region from which he has come.

Six copies of all papers should accompany the applications.

The grant will be distributed in two instalments, the first being paid in advance to meet travelling expenses, either before departure or on arrival in this country, as the grantee may prefer, and the second six months after this payment of the first.

The recepient of this grant will normally be expected to spend a period of one year in country (England).

(ii) *Public Service Commission (India).*

Applications are invited for the post of Plant Pathologist for Sugar-cane Diseases in connectien with research work conducted at the Imperial Institute of Agricultural Research, Pusa. Qualifications—(*a*) First class M. Sc. degree in botanical science of an Indian University, or equivalent (*b*) post-graduate research work in plant pathology and a good knowledge of virus diseases of plants and the technique involved in research in this group of diseases, (*c*) ability to initiate independent research and to guide and inspire such work in assistants. Candidates will be required to produce evidence of ability to conduct research and to submit copies of papers published by them. Successful research in moseic diseases will be regarded an additional qualification. Pay Rs. 350-35-700 per mensem. No concessions based on non-Asiatic domicile. Post temporary for about two years, including one year's probation. No age limits. Women eligible. Government servants eligible if permitted to apply by their departments. The appointing authority intends to appoint a Muslim if such a person is on the list of "candidates suitable for appointment" submitted by the Public Service Commission. Canvassing in any form will disqualify. *Last date for receipt of applications, 10th August, 1935.* Prescribed application forms and further particulars may be obtained from the Secretary, Public Service Commission, Simla. Applicants for forms must mention the name of the post.

THE LATE SIR DEVAPRASAD SARVADHIKARY, KT., C.I.E., C.B.E., M.A., LL.D.

THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW

SEPTEMBER, 1935

THE REALITY OF COMMUNITY

HIRENDRANATH MUKERJEE, M.A. (CAL.), B.A., B.LITT. (OXON.),
Barrister-at-Law, Lecturer, Andhra University.

"I think that the poorest he that is in England hath a life to live as the richest he," argued Col. Rainboro' at a famous meeting of the Council of Officers in 1647 and he was answered by Ireton, Cromwell's son-in-law, with the remark that it was only the men of property with their stake in the country who should have the passport to power. This argument, decided at the time in favour of the inegalitarian Ireton, raised a fundamental problem, not entirely settled yet, the problem of the basis of community. Is it possible to speak of a society where the few order the destinies of the many, as a community? Can community flourish where the principle of private profit is sacrosanct, where property has irresponsible power over the masses? How is one to explain the many distempers of society, if the sense of community is genuinely widespread? We discover, in short, that there is a continual conflict between the claims of property and the claims of civilisation, of peace, of social well-being, and that our present discontents are due, pre-eminently, to that conflict.

Professor MacIver defines community as "the Kin occupying a terrain." The definition is brief, but not inadequate, since it brings out admirably the two essentials of community—physical contiguity and mental kinship. Men are said to form a community when they live together in social relationship, adhere, more or less, to the same customs and traditions and are conscious, to some extent, of common social purposes. They have a sense of belonging together, a kind of "we-sentiment," to use Oppenheimer's expression, a feeling, besides, that each has a role to play and a cause to serve. The emotions of sympathy and self-subordination in human beings demand, as it were, the communal life; its organisation is a necessity of society. The emphasis, thus, is not so much upon territorial adjacency as on the consciousness of community among its members. The true community is not administrative; it is psychological. Its borders are thus capable of infinite expansion. We have come to recognise that the process which has extended the community from the family to the village and from the village to the nation, must not, necessarily, stop at that limit; there are the magistral demands of civilisation to consider. The delimitation of the community and the conflict of loyalty that it may imply, serves therefore as the measure of the reality of the particular communal obligation.

A study of the past and present structure of society, however, makes one doubt if ever the concept of community has been, in fact, realised. Slavery that was once universal and has even yet to be entirely stamped out, is a complete barrier to community. We learn from Plato and Thucydides that in classical Greece, every city was two cities at war with each other, a city of the rich and a city of the poor. Caste, notably in India—and the feudal order everywhere approximated to the caste system—has meant an absolute and permanent stratification of the community. The eminent American sociologist, Thorstein Veblen, in his "Theory of the Leisure Class," has shown how a section of society secured by main force its conspicuous exemption from all useful employment; their descendants to-day are the wealthy parasites who never contribute a day's effort to the world's work, while millions of men and women never know respite from unremitting toil.

The 'Salons' must have rocked with laughter when Voltaire said: "We have never claimed to enlighten shoemakers and servant girls; they are the portion of the apostles." The degradation of the ordinary man was the occasion of mirth ; its cruel secret never understood. Aristocrats, of course, have always felt immeasurably superior to the common herd, but more than that, they have welcomed the degradation of the lowly as a guarantee of their own security. Whatever the explanation of Voltaire's wit, it shows, no doubt, a deficient sense of community. It is no wonder that in the atmosphere of that age, Rousseau, as someone has said, lived perpetually in that mood of Dr. Johnson when he waited in the anteroom of Chesterfield. In nineteenth century England, it is significant to notice, Ruskin always referred to the people as ' you ; ' with Carlyle, they were even further away, they were ' They ;' it was with Morris, who, incidentally, believed in the class struggle, that the people were always ' We.' Only last year, H. G. Wells, in his autobiography, made an astonishing lapse when he wrote: " For the purposes of revolutionary theory the rest of humanity matters only as the texture of mud matters when we design a steam dredger to keep a channel clear." But if a reviewer pertinently asked, the people's name is mud anyway, why bother to dredge it ? And for what precisely, when we have thrown out the mud, shall we have cleared the channel ? Community, apparently, has a long way still to travel before it is genuinely felt.

The general acquiescence of the poorer classes in a condition of things that by no ethical standard is justifiable, is an amazing phenomenon ; but it is not more amazing than the exploitation by the fortunate few of a whole range of emotions in defence of a vicious economic system. If there were none to suffer, how could the feelings of generosity and sympathy with suffering find satisfaction? So probably the argument, if ever frankly formulated, would have run, and the suffering of the many be justified as an essential back-ground for the "nobility" of the few. We find, for instance, the " saintly " Hannah More, admonishing the famine-stricken women of her village, Shipham, to be grateful to " an all-wise and gracious Providence " for " the benefits flowing from the distinction of rank and fortune, which have enabled the high so liberally to assist the low."[1] In something of the same spirit, the Pope, speaking in 1930 over the radio, ' Urbi et orbi,' referred to the rich as " the guardians and distributors of the Almighty's wealth, to whom Jesus Christ himself entrusted the fate of the poor " and advised the poor " to remember the example of our Saviour Jesus Christ, not to disdain his poverty and his promises, not to disdain the accumulations of spiritual wealth so accessible to them in our day, and aiming towards a better life within permissible limits." The Pope certainly was aware of the enormous wealth of the Church and very likely also of the fact that the " poor " have little or no real opportunity to " accumulate spiritual wealth " when they are manacled to an economic system, that is too much of the earth, earthy. Not so very long ago, in our own country, Mahatma Gandhi adjudicating upon an issue between the owners and workers of certain Ahmedabad cotton mills, delivered himself of the astonishing remark that the workers should not grudge their masters their wealth, for their labour was their own capital—a remark that showed not only his abysmal ignorance of burning economic problems, but what is very much more serious, an unforgivable forgetfulness that a difference in bargaining power weighs the scales far too heavily against the workers. It drives one to despair when banal remarks such as these—the Pope's or the Mahatma's—appear to receive a patient and respectful hearing. The sense of community shall never flourish so long as society, with the blessing of its notables, organises inequality, not only of wealth but of opportunity, an inequality which it defends with arguments that are not less mischievous because they are often so unconsciously pathetic.

---

[1] J. L, & Barbara Hammond, *The Town Labourer*, (ed. 1930), p. 229.

For us in India, community is little more than an abstraction, a pleasant myth. Is Bengal a community, where 25% of its appalling infant mortality is due, as Dr. Bentley calculated, to preventible diseases, while the zemindars, as the Simon Commission, certainly not unfriendly to vested interests, reckoned, appropriate three-quarters of the tax paid, while usurers, according to the Whitley Report, not unoften charge 325% interest, while jute mills pay enormous dividends and have no compunction in ruthlessly attacking the workers' lowly standard of living ?[2] What is one to say of Bombay, where investigation by Government officers in 1921-22 revealed that 97% of the working class lived in one-room tenements with 6 to 9 persons in a room and that 98% of the children of Bombay mill-workers were given opium that they might not disturb their parents toiling for their food.[3]

---

[2] Hooghly Jute Mills Ltd. paid on an average, for the period 1918-28, 125% per annum as dividend and it was during that time that the directors decided to force the workers to work longer for less wages; see Joan Beauchamp, " British Imperialism in India " (1934) p. 67.

[3] " Labour Gazette," Sept. 1922; Whitley Report; Beauchamp. *op. cit.*, p. 112.

In 1920, the more important cotton mills paid an average dividend of 120%, the highest figure being as much as 365% ; some shareholders are reported to have asked for as high a figure as 500%. At the other end of the scale, we get the lurid information that in 1926 the rate of infant mortality in Bombay's one-room tenements was 577 per 1,000 births, as against 254 per 1,000 in tenements with two rooms and 107 per 1,000 in hospitals. The national movement of 1929-31 increased Ahmedabad's prosperity, while in 1931 the Textile Union reported that 16,000 workers' tenements were unfit for human habitation.[4] Till 1923, there were no legal restrictions as regards the employment of children in mines, and in 1931 the mines inspector's report recorded the employment underground of 8,458 children under twelve. The modern factory legislation, besides, applies roughly to some one and a half million out of a total of twenty-three million industrial wage-earners. Our community in India has for its background the abominable 'bidi' factories on one hand, where children of five, whose parents are in debt to their employers, sleep on germ-laden dust and on the other, the interminable corps of beggars displaying their nauseous scars before pilgrims assembled in sacred places or looking for something that can possibly be eaten from out of the refuse heaped in front of houses where, but the night before, there had been merry wedding feasts.

Those who are interested in the social history of England will find in, say, the works of the Hammonds a massive and horrifying indictment of upper-class greed. The abominations in the mills and mines of early industrialism, repeated now on Indian soil, are a trite, yet significant, theme. The aristocracy was certainly not without its own brand of culture, but the agony of tortured children, who were forced to play the most infamous part in the industrial life of the time, was an undertone, as Bertrand Russell has said, to the elegant conversation of Holland House. In 1818, a number of medical men gave evidence before the House of Lords that nothing was so good for the health of children as 15 hours a day in factories. " One well-known doctor even refused to commit himself to the statement that a child's health would be injured by standing for twenty-three out of the twenty-four hours." [5] Attempts to reform abuses by means of labour organisation were punished, to take a typical instance, by the transportation of six Dorchester labourers across the seas in 1834—a most flagrant instance of class tyranny and class prejudice. The new middle class was perfectly ready, for its own ends, to make use of the numbers and the enthusiasm of the Chartists. It was only when the increased strength of the workers as an organised class, with their Trade Union and Co-operative movements, enabled them to demand rights, that their masters made any concessions. The facts of history are against the notion that the growth of democracy has been due to a general " liberalising " of social ideas and attitudes ; political rights have really been won by organised class power.

---

[4] *Cf.* Arno Pearse, " The Cotton Industry of India " (1929); Beauchamp, *op. cit.*, pp. 64, 105, 114, 118. The way the mill-jobbers recruit labour from the villages amounts to something like child-slavery.

[5] J. L. & Barbara Hammond, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

There has been in England, of recent years, a great increase in State expenditure on social services; but for all that, the ideal of a true community is still far up in the clouds. In the " Economic Journal " of December 1929, Professor Ginsberg showed how, inspite of a certain increase of mobility upwards in the present generation, there seems no indication that the reserves of ability in the lower classes are being depleted. In the columns of the " Times," there appear letters deploring, in the first instance, the wickedness of some section of the community in pressing for increased expenditure on social services which benefit them and their children, and urging, in the next, the importance of so reducing taxation that other sections may have more to spend on themselves. " As long as they are sure," says Professor Tawney, " that they are masters of the situation and will hold what they have, they are all kindness and condescension." Workers, say, in Glasgow are living in conditions of unspeakable dirt and degradation, while a diamond millionaire from South Africa vouchsafes to the press the precious information that he had spent on redecorating his Surrey mansion, lately burnt down, the sum of £25,000.[6] The " two nations " of which Disraeli spoke, have not yet coalesced to form a single community.

In France, the classic land of " liberty, equality and fraternity," the demand of the Paris workers, always referred to by middle-class historians as " the mob," that liberty and equality should apply to them as to their betters, was met, notably in 1871, by the most ruthless whiff of grapeshot. The Denikins and Wrangels and Kolchaks had no compunction in attempting to destroy the social economy of

---

[6] *Cf.* A. Hutt, " Condition of the Working Class in Great-Britain " (1933); R. H. Tawney, " Equality " (1931).

Russia in the interests of privilege. The janissaries of Austrian fascism felt no qualms in relentlessly sweeping away the achievements of social democracy. The idea of community is irrelevant in China or in the countries of South America, which are potentially rich beyond all dreams, while the workers and peasants are poor beyond description. Japan is far-famed for her supposed social solidarity ; but five great firms there control almost the entire industrial life while the annual interest on the peasants' debt is greater than the yearly value, in depression prices, of the total agricultural produce.[7] What, then is the reality of community when the fundamental power in every capitalist " democratic " country is Money Power ? [8]

In war-time, we hear, devotion to the community is at its white heat. But what a cruel deception is practised by the powers that be, what tiny ends are unwittingly served by men who felt patriotism tearing their heart-strings ! Few will be found to deny that the British occupation of Egypt was undertaken in the interests of British bondholders, or that the South African war was simply a sordid chase for gold. The long story of intervention and war in Mexico or South America, culminating in the infamous savagery over Gran Chaco, is a dreadful record of capitalist cupidity. The race for oil, for coal, for timber, for fortifications in an imperial chain ; the inhuman barbarities of the Congo ; the strangulation of Korea and Manchuria ; the fight between Germany and the Entente for world hegemony—they are all variations on a single theme, a theme that, whatever its explanation, has not the slightest affiliation with the idea of community. The Briey scandal during the Great War is probably the most shameful instance of the deliberate sacrifice of the communal interest to the avarice of a few.

The search for the community leads, thus, to the melancholy conclusion that though we instinctively desire it, our social economy persistently thwarts its development. There may be, sometimes, an appearance of community ; but that is because men, inured to slavery, have been known to hug their chains and rend the would-be liberator. The danger of revolt is, of course, obviated in such cases ; but such a system is without reserves, the potential energy of intelligent will-power that might have been available in times of stress, is lacking. The apparent tranquillity masks a more profound disharmony ; constraint has extirpated those rudiments of free co-operation that are the breath of the life of society. Community, in short, cannot be, when there is not an unfaked identity of interest.

---

[7] " The Aims of Japan " by ' Eurasian,' " Political Quarterly," July-Sept., 1934.

[8] On this theme, see R. D. Charques and A. H. Ewen, " Profits and Politics " (1933).

[9] See " Patriotism, Limited " (Union of Democratic Control, 1933) ; on this topic, see generally Laski's article in " The Intelligent Man's Way to prevent War " (1933), and also his " The State in Theory and Practice " (1935).

It is, of course, a fact that at present the higher income groups supply in proportion to their numbers many more persons of distinction and high social achievement. This is often used as an argument for the intrinsic superiority of those groups, whose privilege is, thus, a guarantee of service to the community. But, with more logic, it can be made an argument for the expansion of opportunity. Successful men flatter themselves with the reflection that ability is entirely the victor in competition. But ability is not, as G. E. G. Catlin has put it, like a pound of butter, either there or not there. It needs an appropriate atmosphere for its growth and there is any amount of evidence that difference of nourishment, for instance, results not only in difference of physical size, as Mr. Tawney has shown, but also in the difference of capacity to put up a fight in this harsh world of ours. Most of us live in the haunting fear of insecurity ; the beauty of living is not for us. If ours was a truly organic society, we would not see the indifference or somewhat contemptuous pity usually felt towards poverty. Any objective test, that is, reveals a very low state of community sentiment, a deficient 'we-feeling.' Community, let it be emphasised, essentially denotes the more positive aspects of social interaction. So long, therefore, as the personality and interests of the overwhelming majority are ineffective, it is, at best, dormant. So long as what are called the lower orders continue to be those that live by obeying orders, community remains an abstraction. As Lenin called liberty under capitalism a bourgeois illusion, we may call community in the same context a myth. Society must be classless, if community is to be a reality.

Waltair.

IS SCIENCE A MENACE TO CIVILISATION?

S. K. MITRA, D.SC. (PARIS)
Sir Rashbehary Ghose Professor of Physics, Calcutta University.

THERE are many in these days to whom the benefits conferred by Science upon human society are so evident that they consider the introduction of such a subject as the present one "Menace to Civilisation" a superfluity. One hopes there might be many more like them. But, unfortunately, there are others, and quite a large number of them to whom the boons of Science are not so evident and who consider Science to be the source of many of the miseries with which human society is afflicted to-day. Such a view is held not by the common unthinking public, but by persons whose position in the intellectual world is unquestionable. Even an astute politician like Winston Churchill is in doubts as to whether we have not already had a surfeit of scientific discoveries and their applications. In an interesting article embodying his anticipations of what would happen fifty years hence, we find him saying:

"It would be much better to call a halt in material progress and discovery rather than be mastered by our own apparatus and the forces which it directs. There are secrets too mysterious for man in his present state to know; secrets which, once penetrated, may be fatal to human happiness and glory. But the busy hands of the Scientists are already fumbling with the keys of all the chambers hitherto forbidden to mankind. Without an equal growth of Mercy, Pity, Peace and Love, Science may destroy all that makes human life majestic and tolerable. There never was a time when the inherent virtue of human beings required more strong and confident expressions in daily life; there never was a time when the hope of immortality and the disdain of earthly power and achievement were more necessary for the children of men."

Then again,—"Projects undreamt of by past generations will absorb our immediate descendants; forces terrific and devastating will be in their hands; comforts, activities, amenities, pleasures will crowd upon them; but their hearts will ache, their lives will be barren, if they have no vision above material things. And with the hopes and powers will come dangers out of all proportions to the growth of man's intellect, or to the strength of his character or institutions. Once more the choice is offered between 'Blessing and Cursing.' "

The sentiments expressed above bear close resemblance to the views of Indian sages of old exhorting man to turn his attention from material to spiritual things. They are also remarkably similar to those often uttered by a great man of modern India. The views of Mahatma Gandhi on the ills of material civilisation are too well known to need reiteration in this connection and afford one further illustration of the old adage, the extremes often meet.

Over and above the charge, namely that Science is undermining the foundation of our social structure and destroying Civilisation—a charge which is generally made by those who survey from a philosophical standpoint the amazing progress and change in the modes of our lives during the last hundred years—there are other charges made from other and perhaps narrower points of view.

The political economists say that Science by inventing labour-saving machines is causing on the one hand over-production and on the other hand unemployment, and is thus responsible for the present world-depression.

The humanitarians say that the most sinister and diabolical development of Science is seen in the invention of engines of destruction—armaments—under the crushing burden of which every nation is now groaning. By providing unscrupulous persons with formidable weapons of undreamt of power—weapons—such that by the mere switching of a button it is possible to bring annihilation to a whole army of soldiers or to a whole population of a crowded city, Science is only leading mankind to destruction.

Every thoughtful individual enjoying the material blessings of modern scientific and organized Civilisation will ask, if these accusations against Science are all true. If Science is really as black as it is painted. If it is really leading him, his cherished ideals and the society he lives in, slowly but relentlessly to the precipice over which they must one day fall and sink into abysmal depths. If the so-called blessings of Science are merely blessings in disguise, and if beneath this superficial veneer is to be found the curse for generations to come? The answer to these questions is not very simple and it is not possible either, in the small time at my disposal, to discuss them in detail and from every aspect. As an humble votary of Science, I have sometimes thought over these questions, and I will attempt here to sketch briefly the lines of my reasoning which has led me to the belief that Science is wrongly accused of the evils—real or imaginary—of modern social organisation

The issue will be made clear and much confusion of thought avoided if I state at the outset what Science is and what its function and aim are. Science is systematised knowledge. Its function is to study by observation and experimentation the natural phenomena perceptible by our senses with a view to classify them. In course of this classification or systematisation the Scientist discovers laws by which the various natural phenomena are related to one another. The greater the range of phenomena embraced by such a law the greater is its value to the Scientist. Newton's Law of Gravitation is an instance of such a law. The aim of the Scientist is to discover that all embracing basic law by which all the observed phenomena of the visible universe can be explained. He does not know if he will ever be able to discover that law, but he works with that aim in view. He believes that each new discovery takes him one step nearer to his goal.

What, however, is the purpose the Scientist has in view in his advance towards his aim? Why does he devote his life and energy to the search of this elusive and unattainable law? What is he to to gain by it ? His object is not a utilitarian one; his only gain is his intellectual satisfaction. The hope that he will know more, that he will have a deeper understanding of nature, is enough to sustain him in his toils. The craving for knowledge which every human being has finds perhaps its highest and sublimest expression in the Scientist. How can he then, cloistered as he is in his laboratory, investigating in a detached spirit oblivious of his surroundings the laws of nature, be held responsible for the ills and ailments from which modern Civilised Society is suffering ? Surely, the Scientist is the most harmless person in the world.

At this stage I will be asked, if not the Scientist who then is responsible for the innumerable adjuncts of civilisation with which we are surrounded and which have made life in modern society so complex? Who is responsible for telephone and radio, for motor car and aeroplane, for air-conditioning and refrigerator, for dynamite and submarine? The people who are directly responsible for these are not Scientists. For want of a better name, without meaning any disrespect, I will call them exploiters. There are two classes of them. The first is the inventor who exploits discoveries made by Scientists and the second is the industrial capitalist who exploits original devices fashioned by inventors. The inventor judges the importance of a scientific discovery not by its intrinsic value, but by the possibility of its utilisation for constructing new types of machines for harnessing natural forces. The industrialist judges the importance of an invention not by its ingenuity and cleverness, but its commercial possibility, by the possible monetary gain it may yield. There have been in recent years scientific discoveries of the very first magnitude. The principle of relativity enunciated by Einstein is a land-mark in the progress of Science in modern times. Transmutation of one element into another, changing mercury to gold—the realisation of the dream of the alchemist, is one of the finest achievements of experimental Physics. But these discoveries leave the inventor and the industrialist cold. They see nothing in them. The theory of relativity with its novel ideas of time and space does not help the inventor in producing a better machine for harnessing natural forces and the costly laboratory process of transmutation of mercury to gold does not interest the financier as a business proposition. The attitude of the inventor or the industrialist towards a scientific discovery is quite different from that of the Scientist.

In former times the inventor and the capitalist worked in isolated spheres. The inventor often failed to get proper support as his ideas were in advance of his times. The capitalist could not take a long view and hesitated to finance an invention because it did not promise immediate yield. Conditions have changed now. A person with an inventive brain finds ready welcome in the research laboratories of the great industries. His inventive genius is so guided that fruits of his labour find immediate application. The industries have not stopped here, but have gone even one step further. Realising that without discovery of new scientific truths progress is retarded, they are engaging Scientists of the highest distinction and providing them with research facilities and laboratory equipments undreamt of by any University. The Scientist can work there in an atmosphere of research as detached from the din and bustle of commercial life as in a University. This combination, that of the Scientist, the Inventor, and the Capitalist, is perhaps the most formidable force at work in our present generation and is shaping the destinies of nations. The true Scientist who is an idealist has unconsciously and unwittingly slipped into this combination and has been instrumental in making Civilisation what it is to-day. A large portion of the share of praise or blame which should have come to persons who commercialise his discoveries for service or dis-service of mankind is showered or thrown on his head.

Be that as it may, it cannot be gainsaid that as long as Scientists go on discovering new truths and laws, these will be exploited by inventors and capitalists for their own purpose. In these circumstances, it may be asked if the process of commercialisation of scientific discoveries which is now proceeding on an unprecedented scale and with which the march of Civilisation is so intimately associated should be allowed to continue. If, as a section of thoughtful people say we should not call a halt. If, it is not desirable that in the interests of humanity a world dictator should arise and close the research laboratories of the industrial organisations of all the countries and, to eradicate the root of the evil, imprison in solitary cells all the Scientists who provide materials pounced upon by the exploiters.

The answer to these questions depends upon what we call Civilisation. We will leave aside for the moment the question if Civilisation connotes increase of the amenities and comforts our daily life. The popular belief no doubt links the two together, but opinions differ on this point. There will, however, be general agreement if I say, progress of Civilisation is synonymous with increase in the bounds of human knowledge with man's greater and greater mastery of the forces of nature, with improved opportunities for enjoying a fuller life and with diffusion of culture not for the fortunate few, but for all. Judged from this standpoint, it must be admitted that Science and Industry and also the much maligned exploiters have contributed immensely towards the progress of Civilisation.

The bounds of human knowledge in all its departments have been enlarged enormously during the last hundred years. The department in which the greatest progress has been made is perhaps Science, and this has influenced to a marked degree other spheres of learning. If Newton were to be reborn to-day in our midst, he would be amazed at the extent and depth of the understanding of natural phenomena by the modern Physicist. He will find that the basic laws of the material universe—laws associated with his name—have been remodelled to fit in with our profoundly modified ideas regarding the nature of the material world. Physics is now encroaching upon Metaphysics and Philosophy.

And, this ever widening knowledge is not confined, as in olden times, in musty volumes accessible only to the learned few. Scientific inventions have brought knowledge and education, in however crude a form it might be, to the doors of millions. The printing press, which in former times was the only agency for dissemination of knowledge and education is now supplemented by the radio, the talkie, the picture telegraphy, and the television. Not only news and pictures of topical events, but also views on cultural subjects expounded by specialists are flashed across space from one corner of the globe to the other for millions of eager listeners. If need be, they are recorded in picture and sound on films for future use. A man not knowing the three R's can get rudiments of knowledge and culture through these novel agencies. The printing machinery too has developed amazingly. It is now nothing less than a Robot and is able to print sheets in millions instead of in thousands in a few hours' time. The best books of the world are thus available at prices to suit everybody's pocket. The rapid method of printing and the quick means of transport by air, land or water have increased the circulation of newspaper enormously. These in their turn help to spread education and culture to remote villages. Without any conscious effort the general level of intelligence, education and culture of the masses is slowly and steadily rising. An average person of a modern civilised society is more educated, better informed and better cared for than one of the last generation. This is surely accelerating and not retarding the progress of Civilisation. Science is perhaps giving Civilisation a new shape, but it is certainly not leading it to destruction.

Leaving the cultural side, let us consider the material side of Civilisation. A cultured man must live and must earn his daily bread. Is Science helping him in this, or is it hindering him from earning an honest living ? The political economist here expresses his doubts. He accuses the machine which is the direct product of the application of Science as responsible for overproduction and unemployment, and as a contributing factor to world depression. Volumes have been written on this subject by experts. Not being an expert myself, I will consider the question from a commonsense point of view.

Regarding overproduction, is it really true that we are producing more than we need the articles of bare necessity ? Take an example. India has a population of about 350 millions. Of these, let us say each of 250 millions of men, boys and girls require a new pair of *dhoties* or *saries* per year. Are we producing in this country or importing from outside this requisite numbers of *dhoties* and *saries* ? No. far less. As a consequence, there are millions of people in India who have got to manage with deplorably scanty clothing. Similar considerations applied to other articles of necessity will show that far from overproduction we are not producing enough. It is thus idle to blame the quantity of production whatever that might be when the fault lies in unequal and inequitable distribution.

Regarding machines causing unemployment, the position may be summarised thus:

It is true that in some cases men are thrown out of work by machines perhaps by hundreds. But it is equally true that in many more cases men are absorbed by machines perhaps by thousands. If some machines destroy jobs, there are others which create them. Figures which are available for America the country of vastly productive machines corroborate this. In 1880 there were 340 jobs for every 1,000 people. In spite of the rapid development of machines in the next 20 years there were 383 jobs for every thousand in 1900. In the next 30 years machines were introduced in industries at an amazing rate, yet 1930 saw 400 jobs for every 1000 people. What then is the basis of the shibboleth that machines destroy jobs ?

There is another point which should be remembered in this connection. Machine has in innumerable instances released man from drudgery and from unintelligent and dangerous work,—work in which a man is nothing but an automaton, a hired power unit and paid as such. Machine has not only rescued him from this, but has reduced his hours of work. The labour saved by the machine has gone directly to benefit the labourer who can now earn as much or more in six days' work of 8 hours each as he used to do in pre-machine days in seven days' work of 12 hours each. Machine has no doubt paid enormous dividends in money to the capitalist, but it has not neglected the worker, and has paid him in kind.

Finally, Science has been accused of being a danger to world peace because it has helped the invention of new equipments of War. Here again the accusation is unjust. The root cause is the suspici-

and distrust which one nation harbours against another. This is kept alive by interested persons or by industrial combines, and their lust and greed are satisfied by nations who go on multiplying their armaments. The remedy lies not in banishing Science, but in cultivating our moral sense and in realising that, desire of personal or national gain must be subordinated to that higher goal towards which humanity is proceeding, namely the evolution of a better man

If a scientifically-minded person were to glance round and survey the world conditions to-day, he would be at a loss to discover the cause of the depression in trade, the unemployment, the war-atmosphere, and the general dissatisfaction with the state of things. What is amiss to-day ? The world is as rich in natural resources as it was a century ago. Nay, it is more. The advance in Scientific knowledge and its applications have made available new resources and have increased the productivity of labour ten-thousand-fold. If used intelligently the material wealth ought to provide sufficiently for our needs. No one need be poor. There should be food, raiment and shelter for everybody, no drudgery, and education with plenty of leisure to enjoy life.

If Science is to be blamed, it is to be blamed for having given us knowledge, power and resources, but not wisdom to apply them rationally.

Let us hope that nations would be wise enough to organise the resources and power derived from Scientific progress, and to distribute equitably the material wealth produced thereby, and when this happens we would be awakened from the nightmare in which we see people starve while there is no dearth in land.*

Calcutta.

---

* Adapted by the author from his talk given at the Rotary Club, Calcutta, on Tuesday, July 16, 1935.

THE AIN-I-AKBARI AS A SEMI-MOSLEM AND SEMI-HINDU ARTHASASTRA

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR, M.A.
Department of Economics and Commerce, Calcutta University.

A VERY important document of the sixteenth century in the domain of politics is the semi-Hindu, semi-Moslem treatise in Persian entitled the *Ain-i-Akbari** by Abul Fazl (1551-1602). It was composed about 1596-1597.

A glance at the table of contents of the *Ain-i-Akbari* exhibits its rough similarity in formal features with a Hindu *Nitisastra*. We may call it the *Akbar-niti,* so to say. The contents are in short as follows:—

I. The Household. The Treasury. The Mint. The Method of separating the silver from the gold. Illuminations. The Kitchen. The Days of Abstinence. Writing and Painting. The Arsenal. Elephants. Horses. Camels. Cow-stables. Buildings. Building materials, etc.

II. The Army. The Civil Services. Salaries. Donations. Feasts. Regulations regarding marriages. Regulations regarding education. The Admiralty.

III. The Eras (Hindu and other). Revenues. Measurements. The Executive. The Judiciary. Nineteen Years' Rates of Revenue.

IV. The Twelve Subahs or Provinces. The Assessment of Land.

V. A description of Hindustan. The character of the Hindus. Their Astronomy and Geography. The Nine Philosophies. The Eighteen Vidyas. The Eighteen Puranas. The Eighteen Smritis. Music. *Rajaniti* (Politics). *Vyavahāra* (Law). Marriages. Festivals, etc.

VI. Moral Sentences. Epigrams. Rules of Wisdom emanating from the Emperor, etc.

---

* Blochmann : The *Ain-i-Akbari* (Calcutta 1873), Vol. I, p. xxx. See also Gladwin's translation (*Ayeen Akbari*).

The *Ain-i-Akbari* is generally considered to be an Imperial Gazetteer of Moghul India. But it is not quite correct to describe it as a Gazetteer in the strictest sense of the term. The descriptive and statistical data bearing on Akbar's time, especially on the *Subahs* or provinces, are certainly to be found in this treatise. But the author is not all an historian or statistician. He has his interpretations, messages, and moral ideas to propagate and they do not appear to be in any way subsidiary to something else. Abul Fazl is indeed a student of ethics, spirituality, life's mission and so forth. He is a philosopher.

Many passages and paragraphs, nay, chapters of the *Ain-i-Akbari* cannot be taken as contributions to objective history or records of actual facts. Even in regard to the land revenue settlements and figures relating thereto as given by Abul Fazl one is not quite clear as to whether we always and everywhere have the things actually in force, or come across the general scheme of financial administration such as served as the basis for executive action. These features of Abul Fazl's treatise become apparent by the side of another great Persian work, the *Seir Mutakherin* [1] (View of Modern Times), the history of India after Aurangzib, composed by Golam Hussein of Bengal in 1780. This work of the eighteenth century is more objective as history, although no doubt it is furnished with its personal equation as every historical composition is bound to be. A comparison with such formally historical treatises enables us to feel that the *Ain i-Akbari's* place in the history of political, economic and financial literature cannot be limited to its realistic historicity alone. The work has been conceived by the author as a much more than historical treatise. It is an account in which the messages, norms, ideals, etc., play as prominent a rôle as the objective book-keeping and compilation of registers.

The *Khatima* (supplement) to the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* [2] (History of Gujarat) in Persian by Ali Muhammad Khan, which was composed between 1750 and 1760 and is somewhat contemporaneous with the *Seir Mutakherin*, is likewise another work with which it should be considered generally irrelevant to compare the *Ain-i-Akbari*. The author of this *Khatima*, although influenced in scholarship by Abul

---

[1] Eng. transl. by M. Raymond (Calcutta 1902), four volumes.

[2] English translation by Nawab Syed Ali and C. N. Seddon (Baroda, 1924).

Fazl, has produced nothing but a descriptive work, almost a guide-book, so to say, to the shrines of the saints, Hindu temples, etc., as well as a register of the Government officials and departments, the Sarkars paying tribute, and so forth.

A work like this may be drawn upon by the researchers of to-day as a source-book for the economic, administrative and socio-religious facts and institutions of Gujarat in the eighteenth century without even a word of criticism. There is nothing else in the *Khatima* to occupy the reader's interest or intellect. The atmosphere in the *Ain-i-Akbari* is far otherwise.

In the preface to the Book which is given over to Hindu civilisation Abul Fazl enables us to see something of his inner springs of action. The "love of his native country," Hindustan, is referred by himself in so many words as one of the motives impelling to him to write this history. He is one of the first "patriots" of modern India. We are also told that the desire to remove the strife and animosity between the diverse races of India (Hindus and Moslems) is also an urge in this literary endeavour. He wants to function as a bridge between the two great religions, to be a peace-maker. The ambition of establishing peace and unanimity is a burning passion with him.

This Introduction gives us seven reasons for the origin of conflict among persons of diverse religions. In his treatment of the subject we come into contact with a brain which is not only modern in its make-up but which it is almost impossible to improve upon. He is discussing, of course, the problems of other religions, especially Islam *vis-à-vis* Hinduism. But in his analysis are to be found the profoundest considerations of comparative sociology with reference to the race-questions. As an essay in toleration this Introduction can be used even to-day anywhere on earth. His logic is unchallengable in theory and fruitful in practice.

The comparative method is a remarkable trait of Abul Fazl's logic. This manifests itself not only in the discussion of the questions relating to the conflicts arising from the diversity of faiths but also in the manner in which he deals with the arts and sciences of the Hindus. At important points he turns to the Greeks and places Hindu achievements by the side of those of the former. In astronomy he finds analogy with Ptolemy and remembers the Persian, the Egyptian and the Greek philosophers. The references to Greek culture constitute the general perspective, so to say of his researches in "Indology." As one of the founders of comparative methodology in world-culture this Indian Mussalman of the sixteenth century deserves his rightful place in the history of science and philosophy and is by all means a great precursor of the Hindu Rammohan Roy of the end of the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries.

Abul Fazl's ideals are definite and precise. It is the moral and social philosophy that concerns him the most. History, economics, statistics, biography, the personality of Akbar are to him but the pegs on which to hang his moralizings, ideals and spiritual propaganda. There is hardly any chapter of importance, especially in the first two Books in which we do not again and again come into contact with this great key to his life. He is writing about Akbar's India or rather about Akbar himself but all the time with an eye to the illustration of his own spiritual ideals. To him Akbar is an interesting character simply because it is this monarch who happens to embody all that he considers to be great and divine in personal and public life.

Throughout the *Ain-i-Akbari* we encounter but one problem. To the author it is a moral problem and a political problem in one. He is never tired of discussing it or referring to it and has therefore succeeded in imparting to the treatise a lofty tone such as is associated with the greatest political masterpieces of the world.

And what is the life-blood of the ideal preached in season and out of season in the *Ain-i-Akbari* ? It is the category of the " just king " (pp. viii, ix, 12). This is the doctrine that occupies the central place in Abul Fazl's political philosophy. And it is here that we see how profoundly he assimilated the eternal problem of Hindu politics, namely, the *Rajarsi-vrittam* (the conduct of the philosopher-king or royal sage) of our old Kautalyan tradition.

The political literature of the Hindus was well known to Abul Fazl. In this work he has given a short synopsis of some of the *Niti Sastras* in his possession in the chapter on the various branches of learning cultivated by the people of Hindusthan in the time of his master, the great Akbar. Besides giving an elaborate description of Hindu law under the heading *Beyhar* (Sans. *Vyavahāra*) and referring to " many other sensible books upon government " the compiler of this "Moghul Gazetteer" gives the following summary of *Rajneet*, " the art of governing a kingdom."

" It is incumbent on a monarch to divest himself of avarice and anger, by following the counsels of wisdom. * * * It is his indispensable duty to fear God * * * to pay particular respect to men of exalted rank and behave with kindness towards his subjects of every description. * * * He should be ambitious to extend his dominions. * * * No enemy is so insignificant as to be beneath his notice. * * * A wise prince will banish from his court all corrupt and designing men.

" The king resembles a gardener, who plucks up the thorns and briers, and throws them on one side whereby he beautifies his garden, and at the same time raises a fence which preserves his ground from the intrusion of strangers. * * * The king detaches from the nobles their too numerous friends, and dangerous dependents. * * *

" In affairs of moment it is not advisable to consult with many. * * * Some ancient monarchs made it a rule to consult men of a contrary description and to act diametrically opposite to their advice. * * * They found it the safest way to join with the prime minister a few wise and experienced men and to require each to deliver his opinion in writing. A prince moreover requires a learned astrologer and a skilful physician. * * * If any monarch is more powerful than himself he continually strives to sow dissension among his troops; and if he is not able to effect this prudently purchases his friendship. * * * The prince whose territory adjoins to his, although he may be friendly in appearance, yet ought not to be trusted; he should always be prepared to oppose any sudden attack from that quarter. With him whose country lies next beyond the one last-mentioned he should enter into alliance; but no connection should be formed with those who are more remote. If he finds it necessary to attack his enemy, he should invade his country during the time of harvest."

Here we have from a non-Hindu source the traditional ideas of the Hindus regarding constitution, international morality, etc., as preserved in the Hindu literature of the 16th century.

The student of comparative politics will be justified to go farther. In so far as the general, philosophical or theoretical ideas are concerned, the *Ain-i-Akbari* is to be treated virtually as a Persianized edition, so to say, of a Sanskrit *Artha* or *Niti Sastra*. It is within the philosophical framework of a Hindu treatise on politics that Abul Fazl has put in the statistics and administrative details of Akbar's Empire. It not only preserves the Hindu tradition by describing Sanskrit literature and Hindu philosophical ideas in Book IV, but is a document of the most profound assimilation of Hindu culture by a philosophically minded Mussalman.

Let us analyze a bit of his own philosophical synthesis. In the general preface to his *Ain-i-Akbari* Abul Fazl says about royalty as follows:

> " If royalty did not exist, the storm of strife would never subside, nor selfish ambition disappear. Mankind, being under the burden of lawlessness and lust, would sink into the pit of destruction, the world, this great market place, would lose its prosperity, and the whole earth become a barren waste. But by the light of imperial justice some follow with cheerfulness the road of obedience, whilst others abstain from violence through fear of punishment; and out of necessity make choice of the path of rectitute."

In this political philosophy of Abul Fazl we have an adaptation from the Hindu doctrines of *matsya-nyaya* (logic of the fish) as well as of *danda* (punishment). He is a first class writer and stylist and he has presented the Hindu philosophical " patents " in a most polished and dignified language, which only the Persianist of course can appreciate in the original.

Among the " excellent qualities " flowing from royalty as conceived by Abul Fazl we are told that the king " puts the reins of desire into the hands of reason; in the wide field of his desires he does not permit himself to be trodden by restlessness nor will he waste his precious time in seeking after that which is improper. * * He is for ever searching after those who speak the truth and is not displeased with words that seem bitter but are in reality sweet." Here again, we have but a paraphrase from the Hindu doctrine of *vyasanas* (viaces) and *rajadosas* (faults or disqualifications of a king).

It is exceedingly interesting that even in regard to the professional structure of the people Abul Fazl cannot think of anything but the fourfold Hindu social stratification. He says that the political constitution becomes well tempered by a " proper division of ranks." The four classes into which according to him the world may be divided are (1) warriors, (2) artificers and merchants, (3) the learned, and (4) husbandmen and labourers. We are taught also that it is obligatory for a king to put each of these in its proper place, and by uniting personal ability with a due respect for others, to cause the world to flourish."

It does not take anybody acquainted even cursorily with the Hindu *Artha, Smriti,* and *Niti Sastra* that Abul Fazl is reproducing the most fundamental concept of the king's functions *vis-à-vis Chaturvarnya* (the four-ordered social polity). It is curious that nobody seems to have even suspected that the words, phrases and sentences of a philosophical, theoretical or general character in all these paragraphs are almost verbatim copies from the *Manu Samhita,* Ch. VIII (*Rajadharma*).

We shall now point to one or two other Sanskritisms or Hinduizings of the Persian text.

In *Ain* 13 which discusses the origin of metals, Abul Fazl speaks of the "seven bodies" within quotation marks. According to some manuscripts the Hindus are referred to as giving the opinion that the metal called *ricac* is a "silver in the state of leprosy." One wonders if Abul Fazl is not dealing in this chapter with the Hindu doctrine of seven metals. And one may not be surprised if *zinc,* the seventh metal, which began to be recognized by the fourteenth century Hindu writers on medicine like Madanapala, is Abul Fazl's "silver in the state of leprosy," for some of the Sanskrit names for zinc, namely *rasaka, rupyabhrata,* etc., connect it with silver.

In *Ain* 41 which deals with the imperial elephant stables the four kinds of elephants (namely, *bhaddar, mand, mirg* and *mir*) and their three dispositions (namely, *sat, raj,* and *tam*) are derived from the Sanskrit treatises on elephants. Abul Fazl names also the eight *dig-gajas* or elephants as gurdians of the quarters or points of the earth in the Hindu manner and gives likewise another Hindu classification of elephants. The entire chapter (pp. 117-124) points to a fine assimilation of Sanskrit *gajasastras* by Moslems in regard to other items as well. Abul Fazl quotes neither Varahamihira's *Brihat Samhita* nor Bhoja's *Yuktikalpctaru* nor any treatise like the *Sukraniti.* He is, however, not a plagiarist as he says explicitly that these ideas about elephants are Hindu.

Ain 72 describes the "manner in which His Majesty spends his times" (pp. 153-156). In such expressions as the "care with which His Majesty guards over his motives and watches over his emotions," "he listens to great and small," "he does not allow his desires or his wrath to renounce allegience to wisdom," "his august nature cares but little for the pleasures of the world," etc., one may read the echoes or reminiscences of the "qualifications" and "vices" of kings with which the Hindu *Artha* and *Niti Sastras* deal as a matter of course. Some of these virtues are of course but generalities and platitudes found in every treatise on ideal polity from Plato and Kautalya to Al Farabi (*c*. 950), the great Arab encyclopaedist who based his *Model City* on Plato. Abul Fazl does not therefore have to copy such maxims from any specifically Hindu sources.

Such moralizings or ascriptions of moral qualities to a *Padshah* may also be expected of Abul Fazl quite independently. It should still be observed, however, that he is writing in a Hindu atmosphere about a monarch who is pro-Hindu with vengence, nay, who is condemned as *Kafer* by orthodox Mussalmans.* Further, Abul Fazl is actually using Hindi words at every turn and referring to Hindu customs in the most familiar way. One may perhaps suggest, therefore, that the author of *Ain-i-Akbari* is not uninfluenced by the traditional (Kautalyan) Hindu conception of the *Rajarsi*, the philosopher-king, while describing Akbar's daily routine, meals and other habits, as well as temperament, etc., in *Ains* 72-75, (pp. 153-160). The characteristic Muslim salutations (*taslim* and *kornish*) are, however, not included in these remarks. But Abul Fazl's *dicta* that " royalty is an emblem of the power of God and a light-shedding ray from this Sun of the Absolute " (p. 159) or that " even spiritual progress would be impossible unless emanating from the king in whom the light of God dwells " (p. 158) point perhaps to the fact that Abul Fazl is here making propaganda about his hero for a people that is used to the language of the *Manu Samhita*. Not the least *tendencious* item in all these statements is the one, as told by Abul Fazl, that " His Majesty abstains much from flesh so that whole months pass away without his touching any animal food." The author makes it a point to observe in this connection that the animal food, " though prized by most is nothing thought of by the sage." This can be easily interpreted as an attempt on the part of Abul Fazl at " speaking to the gallery." But the fact that these statements about Akbar are truths and not mere propaganda furnishes all the more ground for believing that the Emperor, his court, as well as Abul Fazl were Hinduized in thought and form.

---

* For the pro-Hindu habits and laws of Akbar as described and condemned by Badaoni see Blochmann, Vol. I, pp. 179-184, 193, 250.

These suggestions about Abul Fazl's Hinduization of the *Ain-i-Akbari* will derive fresh strength from what is known about his personal character.

According to the *Maasir ul-Umara* quoted in Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari* (pp. xxvii-xxviii), Abul Fazl is reported to have been " an infidel." " Some say, he was a Hindu, or a fire-worshiper or a free thinker, and some go still further and call him an atheist; but others pass a juster sentence, and say that he was a panthiest, and that like other Sufis he claimed for himself a position above the law of the prophet." All these descriptions, repugnant naturally as they are to an orthodox Mussalman, are however quite in keeping with an academically high-placed or philosophically-minded Hindu or Hinduized scholar. And since Prince Salim in his *Memoirs* describes Abul Fazl as a " Hindustani Shaikh by birth, who was well-known for his learning and wisdom,"* we may not be far from the truth when we surmise that this Indian-born Shaikh was well up in the Hindu *Smriti* and *Niti Sastras* and at any rate had grown up by assimilating the contributions of Hindu cultural tradition.

Had we known less than we actually do about Akbar's socio-religious pro-Hindu propaganda and the ultra-liberal intellectual activities of Abul Fazl, his elder brother Faizi, and their father we might perhaps have been led to suspect that part of the idealism in Abul Fazl's work,—the general preface as well as the text—is to be ascribed to an acquaintance with Al-Farabi's treatise on the model city (*c.* 950). As a learned scholar Abul Fazl may certainly have studied the Arabic treatise on governmentals statutes (*El-Akham es Soulthaniyah*) by Mawerdi (972-1058) Chief Justice of Bagdad or derived profit from the Persian *Siassat Namah* (Treatise on Government) by Nizamoul Mulk (*c.* 1063-1092). And of course the greatest philosphico-historical work of the " Middle Ages," namely, the *Mokaddemah* in Arabic by Ibn Khaldum (1332-1406), the Egyptian judge, could not have failed to furnish this "Hindustani Shaikh" with literary norms.[1]

---

* Blochmann, Vol. I (1873), Biography, p. xxvi.

But the borrowings, assimilations, reminiscences or adaptations from the Sanskrit texts are too direct and palpable as well as pronounced. The surroundings of Abul Fazl's daily life and the literary activities in which he took part while preparing the *Ain-i-Akbari* should appear to be Muslim only in name. The Hindu-Moslem camaraderies of his *Padshah* as well as of himself and his group are enough to explain that forces nearer home were responsible for the kind of idealism and political philosophy which found expression in his *Akbar-niti.*

The translations from "Hindi" (Sanskrit)[2] into Persian of works like the *Mahabharata,* the *Ramayana,* the *Atharva Veda,* the *Harivamsa,* the *Nala Damayanti,* etc., such as are described in the *Ain* 34 indicate the Hindu atmosphere which could not fail to leave its impress upon the contributions of Abul Fazl. It is not quite clear, however, whether the translations were made direct from Sanskrit or from Hindi translations. But it is important to notice that he himself had a hand in the translations of the *Mahabharata,* just as Faizi in that of *Nal Daman.*

In the special preface to the sections dealing with Hindu culture we learn from his own statements that his studies in Hindu culture were commenced early. But he felt that his knowledge was not sufficient. So he renewed his former studies with the help of those who could guide him. He speaks of the painful researches undertaken in order to arrive at the truth about the Hindus, their sciences, philosophies and religions. This explains naturally the almost *verbatim* extracts from Hindu treatises on law and politics in this Muslim work.

---

[1] For Al-Farabi see Carra de Vaux: *Avicenne,* Paris 1900, The *El-Akham es Soulthaniyah* is available in French as *Les Statuts Gouvernementaux* by Fagnan, Paris 1915. The *Siasset Nameh* is available in French as *Traité du Gouvernement* by Schefer, Paris 1893.

The *Mokaddemah* is available in French as *Prolegomènes Historiques* by de Slane, Paris 1862-68.

See also T. Husein: *La Philosophie Sociale d'Ibn Khaldhoun,* Paris 1917.

A study as to the nature of Abul Fazl's contacts with these and other Arabic and Persian "old masters" in politics, economics, history and sociology, etc., ought to be very interesting for an investigation into the achievements of Indo-Saracenic Renaissance.

[2] Blochmann, Vol. I (1873), pp. Biography, XVII, 104, 199-200.

For the translations of Sanskrit works under Moslem auspices see also D. C. Sen: *History of Bengali Literature* (Calcutta 1911); N. N. Law: *Promotion of Learning in India during Muhammadan Rule* (by Muhammadans), (London, 1916); B. K. Sarkar: *Folk-Element in Hindu Culture* (London 1917); M. Z. Siddiqi: "Services of Muslims to Sanskrit Literature" (*Calcutta Review,* February 1932).

It is interesting that at the very threshold of his study on Hindu culture, even in the introduction Abul Fazl makes the readers acquainted with his fundamental conclusion, namely, that the Hindus are not polytheists but are worshippers of God and only one God. And this conclusion he poses against the popular tradition of his times to the effect that the Hindus are polytheists. He repeats his conclusion at the commencement of the lengthy section and remarks that the Hindus are no mere idolators, "as the ignorants suppose." The Hindu explanation of image worship is reproduced by himself as his own conviction, namely, that the images are designed simply to prevent the thoughts of the people from wandering while at prayer.

It is evident that Abul Fazl has taken his pen in the interest of a propaganda. It is a propaganda of inter-religious understanding and inter-racial peace. And so far as his own race and religion are concerned it is nothing but fanatically pro-Hindu. Indeed, he has made it a point to collect together all the good things that may be said about the people whom the wants to raise in the estimation of his co-religionists. Perhaps from Megasthenes to Nivedita have the Hindus never been flattered in such a dignified manner by any non-Hindu as has been done by Abul Fazl in the *Ain-i-Akbari*.

In all essentials the *Ain-i-Akbari* has turned out to be a joint Hindu-Moslem literary work so characteristic of the Indo-Saracenic Renaissance of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Nay, it is perhaps one of the first creative specimens of Hindu-Moslem cultural fusion such as has marked the evolution of Indian arts and sciences since then. And in his emphasis on goodness and moral life as the foundation of spirituality and the key to the kingdom of God he is an *avatar* of positivism representing thereby the very spirit of the Renaissance. For, no student of *Nitisastras*, Oriental or Occidental, can afford to forget that the statement "that every man of sense and understanding knows that the best way of worshipping God consists in allaying the distress of the times and in improving the condition of the poor" (*Ain* 2) came from the pen of the Indian Mussalman of the sixteenth century.

As a rationalist, as a "protestant," and as a humanist Abul Fazl has served to liberate the Moslem mind. The enfranchisement of the intelligence which was consummated in the Christian world by the Renaissance was accomplished in Moslem India by the author of the *Ain-i-Akbari,* the same enfranchisement which was to attack the Hindu mind two centuries later in and through Rammohan Roy. For the students of world-culture in political philosophy it is of importance to observe that some of the formative forces in Abul Fazl's toleration humanism, eclectic approach to the things of matter and spirit and as well as positivism were furnished by the Hindu *Manu Samhita* and *Mahabharata.*

Calcutta.

GEORGE WILLIAM RUSSELL

DR. MOHINIMOHAN BHATTACHARYYA, M.A., B.L., PH.D.
Lecturer in English, The University, Calcutta.

THE Death of A.E.—to use the pen-name by which Russell was so well-known—removes from the world of letters not only a famous poet but also a most interesting and versatile personality. A votary of the muse, A. E. was also a painter of some distinction, a critic, a noted public speaker, an economist, a journalist and an ardent patriot. He attracted considerable notice as the editor of the *Irish Statesman* during 1923-30—a period of intense political activity and reshuffling in Ireland. The Irish Agricultural Organisation Society of which Russell was an enthusiastic champion had in him, for many years, its chief worker. It would be difficult to estimate the obligation of public life in Ireland to this man of letters who is looked upon as " one of the noblest figures in the Irish intellectual movement " in the twentieth century. It is seldom that a man is both a hero and a saint and artistic creation and an active interest in public affairs hardly go hand in hand. Russell is a striking exception to the general rule and in him is to be noticed mystic intuitions in harmonious combination with a sound practical sense, the dreaminess and idealism of the poet united with a grasp of stern reality.

Russell, the poet, has been claimed as a child of the Celtic Revival. This movement had for its object the creation of a literature which should be the vehicle of the old and distinctively Irish culture—the Irish psychological personality, as it has been called. It was felt that the Anglo-Saxon having conquered the world of matter, the Celt should demand, as his due, the world of mind. The dreamy imaginativeness found in old Irish legends by the side of the most bloody episodes and " the inclination to the sad poetry of the heart and to the fanciful wanderings of the will amid flashes of clear-sightedness and moods of matter-of-fact realism " were pointed out as constituting the special features of Irish mentality and outlook which deserved full expression in literature. The Celtic Renaissance was also an intellectual revolt against the thraldom of a foreign (*i.e.*, Anglo-Saxon) literature which was supposed to have denationalised the Irish and its leaders had as their objective intellectual freedom as the basis of Irish Literature and Irish culture. Between 1885 and 1895 an active and organised crusade was started to achieve this end and from London it spread to Dublin. Its programme, drawn up by men like Stopford Brooke, Gavan Duffy and Douglas Hyde, included the translation of old Gaelic legends, tales, poems, etc., so as to renew Irish intellectual life by bringing it in touch with its original fountain-heads. There were some who wanted to go to extremes and to banish English language altogether from Ireland, while attempts were also made to find out a mean between English and Gaelic, the national tongue which few could read. Douglas Hyde actually achieved a compromise by combining " a groundwork of English vocabulary with a number of turns, phrases and dialectal words in which the influence of Irish syntax and Irish ways of thinking was directly felt." The movement attracted young men and writers of talent and the result was the foundation of a national theatre, a dramatic society and a literary association in Dublin. W. B. Yeats, J. M. Synge and G. W. Russell may be looked upon as the most notable products as well as champions of the movement. Russell is pre-eminently intellectual and, so far as his poetry discloses it, he is universal in outlook and sympathy rather than exclusively national. Parochial activities and narrowness of vision or policy never attracted him.

Mysticism in Russell's poetry has attracted widespread attention. It has justly endeared it to many who read poetry to derive from it nutrition for their world-weary souls. It has given satisfaction to those who find delight in the contemplation of the supersensuous—of ineffable beauty and imperishable love. Though imaginative mysticism is " the essential attribute of Celticism," it is not, in Russell, of exclusively Irish origin. It owes very little to the well-known English mystical poets or to the Christian mystics of Europe. The " glowing pantheism " in his poetical work seems to have been derived from a distant source. The melancholy emotion, the restlessness of unsatisfied hearts, the wistful aspiration after the great beyond, which mark even the work of Yeats are almost absent from the poetry of A. E. Plato, it has been said, was the father of European mysticism and it has been pointed out that mysticism finds in his philosophy all its creeds. Hence it was impossible for Russell to shake himself absolutely free from Platonic influence. But his obligation to the mystical literature of ancient India is obvious to careful readers.

That this world is but the vesture of the in-dwelling Spirit which manifests itself as Beauty, Wisdom and Love, that communion with it is possible through faith, purity and mental concentration and that man's highest good lies in absorption in this supreme Reality, are some of the well-known creeds of the Upanishads. The Spirit is the fountain of life and light in this world and its glory shines through matter. Russell says:

> Oh, be not led away,
> Lured by the colour of the sun-rich day.
> The gay romance of song
> Unto the spirit life doth not belong:
> Though far—between the hours
> In which the Master of Angelic powers
> Lightens the dusk within
> The holy of holies, be it thine to win
> Rare vistas of white light,
> Half.parted lips through which the Infinite
> Murmurs its ancient story.

The Lord in the Bhagavad-Gita declares, "I am Beauty itself among beautiful things" and the Irish poet sings:

> The East was crowned with snow-clad bloom
> And hung with veils of pearly fleece:
> They died away into the gloom,
> Vistas of peace—and deeper peace.
>
> And earth and air and wave and fire
> In awe and breathless silence stood;
> For one who passed into their choir
> Linked them in mystic brotherhood.
>
> Twilight of amethyst, amid
> Thy few strange stars that lit the heights,
> Where was the secret spirit hid?
> Where was Thy place, O Light of Lights?
>
> The flame of Beauty far in space—
> Where rose the fire: in Thee? in Me?
> Which bowed the elemental race
> To adoration silently?

Peace and calm ensue from the final union between the soul and the over-soul, the finite being and the infinite.

> When the trees and skies and fields are one in dusky mood,
> Every heart of man is rapt within the mother's breast:
> Full of peace and sleep and dreams in the vasty quietude,
> I am one with their hearts at rest.

From our immemorial joys of hearth and home and love
Strayed away along the margin of the unknown tide,
All its reach of soundless calm can thrill me far above
Word or touch from the lips beside.

Aye, and deep and deep and deeper let me drink and draw
From the olden fountain more than light or peace or dream,
Such primeval being as o'erfills the heart with awe,
Growing one with its silent stream.

Again,

When I fade into the deep,
Some mysterious radiance showers
From the jewel-heart of sleep
Through the veil of darkened hours.

Where the ring of twilight gleams
Round the sanctuary wrought,
Whispers haunt me—in my dreams :
We are one, yet know it not.

Some for beauty follow long
Flying traces ; some there be
Seek thee only for a song:
I to lose myself in thee.

The Eternal Spirit manifested as Beauty is symbolised in Krishna in Vaishnavism and its movements are his *Leela.* Krishna is the Master Singer and the notes of his flute are heard throughout eternity.

"I am the sunlight in the heart, the silver moon-glow in the mind;
My laughter runs and ripples through the wavy tresses of the wind.
I am the fire upon the hills, the dancing flame that leads afar
Each burning-hearted wanderer, and I the dear and homeward star.
A myriad lovers died for me, and in their latest yielded breath
I woke in glory giving them immortal life though touched by death.
For joy of me the daystar glows, and in delight and wild desire
The peacock twilight rays aloft its plumes and blooms of shadowy fire,
Where in the vastness too I burn through summer nights and ages long,
And with the fiery-footed watchers shake in myriad dance and song."

Imitating the imagery of the Vaishnava Scriptures, the poet calls Krishna the King of Kings, the Prince of Peace, the Light of Lights, the Spend-thrift of the Heavenly Gold.

"And yet He is the life within the Ever-living Living Ones,
The ancient with eternal youth, the cradle of the infant suns,
The fiery fountain of the stars, and He the golden urn where all
The glittering spray of planets in their myriad beauty fall."

Cosmic evolution is figured in the Hindu scriptures as the creative efforts of Brahma and in "Indian Song" Russell describes how

> Shadowy-petalled, like the lotus, loom the mountains with their snows :
> Through the sapphire Soma rising such a flood of glory throws
> As when first in yellow splendour Brahma from the Lotus rose.

The Tantras describe the ultimate Reality as the Great Mother who is conceived as Power. She is the last of a hierarchy of forces which dominate the world but are, in their turn, controlled by the Original Power—the Mother, the great spiritual Entity. Matter, energy, etc., are evanescent and obscure only momentarily the effulgence of the Great Mother. Russell adopts this imagery and uses it copiously in his mystic poems.

> Mother, with whom our lives should be,
> Not hatred keeps our lives apart :
> Charmed by some lesser glow in thee,
> Our hearts beat not within thy heart.
>
> Beauty, the face, the touch, the eyes,
> Prophets of thee, allure our sight
> From that unfathomed deep where lies
> Thine ancient loveliness and light.
>
> Self-found at last, the joy that springs
> Being thyself, shall once again
> Start thee upon the whirling rings
> And through the pilgrimage of pain.

Russell's obligation to Indian Literature and Philosophy is not a matter of inference or conjecture only. It has been expressly acknowledged by him. It does him credit that he should have referred to this debt of gratitude even in his business correspondence with the University of Calcutta. Dr. Harendra Coomer Mookerjee who in 1918 was entrusted with the preparation of the Poetical and Prose Selections for the Intermediate Examinations of this University, wrote to Russell for permission to include in them some of his pieces, offering to pay, on behalf of the University, any fees he might demand. So far as he was concerned, Russell unconditionally permitted the reproduction of the pieces, but as the copyright belonged to his publishers, he had the courtesy to write to them personally and thus to secure their permission to our University. In his two letters to Dr. Mookerjee on the matter, he gracefully recorded his obligation to Indian thought and said that he would be glad if his work was appreciated in India the culture of which had mainly inspired it. His letters are quoted below *in extenso.* The first one refers to some poems and the second to some prose pieces in respect of which Dr. Mookerjee had asked for the author's permission for reproduction :

DUBLIN,
IRELAND
25 Nov, '19.

Dear Mr. Mookerjee,

The copyright of my verses is the property of Messrs. MacMillan & Co., St. Martin Street, London and it is they, not I, who have power to give or deny permission to quote. But I am writing to them, asking them to give permission and to write to you direct as it would save time. They are generally good-natured in such matters and I hope they will accede to your request. I have a love for India and Indian Literature and would prefer to have readers there more than in any country except my own.

Yours sincerely,
GEORGE RUSSELL
"A. E."

Dublin,
8th Jan., 1920.

H. C. MOOKERJEE, ESQ., M.A.
DEAR SIR,

I sent your request to Messrs. Maunsel, the publishers of "Imaginations and Reveries" and the owners of the copyright. I enclose a copy of the note I received from one of the Directors. So far as I am concerned, I give the permission to quote "The Renewal of Youth," "The Hero in Man" and "The Ideals of the New Rural Society" and do so with pleasure. I owe so much to my study of Indian Literature that I would be glad if any of your countrymen found any inspiration in work which largely had its foundation in Indian thought.

Yours sincerely,
GEO. W. RUSSELL
"A. E."

Mysticism is a matter of mood and temperament and has generally no satisfactory basis in reason. A philosophical defence of it is likely to be halting and unconvincing. Russell, however, has attempted to formulate a philosophy of it. Though the roots of his "glowing pantheism" reach far into the depths of Irish psychology and Indian thought, his exposition of its creeds in the *Candle of Vision* and *The Avatars* deserves consideration. The former is a string of reflections probing the remote sources of man's inner life, while the latter illustrates its ideas through what he calls a Futurist

Fantasy. The supersensuous Reality or the great spirit-world is not, according to Russell, a figment of imagination. On the contrary, it is ancient religions that are symbolistic. "I believe that most of what was said of God was in reality said of that spirit whose body is Earth. I must in some fashion indicate the nature of the visions which led me to believe with Plato that the earth is not at all what the geographers suppose it to be, and that we live like frogs at the bottom of a marsh, knowing nothing of that Many-coloured Earth which is superior to this we know, yet related to it as soul to body." This soul of the world has kinship with the human soul, though it is superior to the latter in all respects, as the superman is assumed to be superior to ordinary human beings. It is more intelligent, more lovely, more sympathetic and more powerful. It holds communion with the human soul and our visions, imagination, dreams, intuitions, etc., which cannot be explained according to the ordinary laws of matter and motion are only the communications received from it.

How visions, dreams, etc., prove the existence of an over-soul is explained by Russell in detail. Memory retains only the impressions of sense. But we often find that when we are absorbed in thought, our minds are crowded not only with memories of past experiences, but also with images or pictures of things or scenes we had never seen. "I brooded once upon a friend, not then knowing where he was and soon I seemed to myself to be walking in the night. Nigh me was the Sphinx, and, more remote, a dim pyramid. Months later, my friend came to Ireland. I found he had been in Egypt at the time I had thought of him. He could not recollect the precise day, but had while there spent a night beside the great monuments. I did not see him in vision, but I seemed to be walking there in the night. Why did the angle of vision change as with one moving about ? Did I see through his eyes ?" This is an example which shews that a man's 'vision' does not always depend on the impression produced on his own retinas. Russell gives another instance of this. "Once in an idle interval in my work I sat with my face pressed in my hands, and in that dimness pictures began flickering in my brain. I saw a little dark shop, the counter before me, and behind it an old man fumbling with some papers, a man so old that his motions had lost swiftness and precision. Deeper in the store was a girl red-haired, with grey watchful eyes fixed on the old man. I saw that to enter the shop one must take two steps downwards from a cobbled pavement without.

I questioned a young man, my office companion, who was then writing a letter, and I found that what I had seen was his father's shop. All my imaginations—the old man, his yellow white beard, his fumbling movements, the watchful girl, her colour, the steps, the pavement—were not imaginations of mine in any true sense, for while I was in a vacant mood, my companion had been thinking of his home, and his brain was populous with quickened memories, and they invaded my own mind, and when I made question I found their origin. But how many thousand times are we invaded by such images?" (*The Candle of Vision*, pp. 50-51.) It is not seldom that a man draws upon others' "visions" without fully realising it and the images which populate his brain have not always been born there. "We are haunted by unknown comrades in many moods, whose naked souls pass through ours, and reveal themselves to us in an unforgettable instant." "When our lamp is lit, we find the house of our being has many chambers, and creatures live there who come and go and we must ask whether they have the right to be in our house ; and there are corridors there leading into the hearts of others, and windows which open into eternity, and we can hardly tell where our being ends and another begins, or if there is any end to our being."

The truth of these remarks is also borne out by the reflection on our vision of what Russell calls "The memory of Earth."* A vision cannot always be traced to sense-perception. Sometimes a scene from ancient history rises up before the eye or the picture of a distant city never visited before. "Anything may cause such pictures to rise in vivid illumination before us, a sentence in a book, a word, or contact with some object. I have brooded over the grassy mounds which are all that remain of the duns in which our Gaelic ancestors lived, and they builded themselves up again for me so that I looked on what seemed an earlier civilisation, saw the people, noted their dresses, the colours of natural wool, saffron or blue, how rough like our own homespuns they were ; even such details were visible as that the men cut meat at table with knives and passed it to the lips with their fingers. This is not, I am convinced, what people call imagination, an interior creation in response to a natural curiosity about past ages. It is an act of vision, a perception of images already existing, breathed on some ethereal medium which in no way differs from the medium which holds for us our memories." This is the memory of Earth. " Memory," Russell believes, " is an attribute of all living creatures and of Earth also, the greatest living creature we know, and ...... she carries with her, and it is accessible to us, all her long history, cities far gone behind time, empires which are dust, or are buried with sunken continents beneath the waters...No ancient lore has perished. Earth retains for herself and her children what her children might in passion have destroyed, and it is still in the realm of the Ever Living to be seen by the mystic adventurer. We argue that this memory must be universal, for there is nowhere we go where Earth does not breathe fragments from her ancient story to the meditative spirit....The laws by which this history is made accessible to us seem to be the same as those which make our own learning swift to our service. When we begin thought or discussion on some subject, we soon find ourselves thronged with memories ready for use. Everything in us related by affinity to the central thought seems to be mobilised." (*The Candle of Vision*, p. 62.) In *The Avatars*, Conaire expresses a similar view and suggests that his glowing visions are the projections of the consciousness of the Earth Spirit. " To the ancients, Earth was a living being. We who walk upon it know no more of the magnificence within it than a gnat lighting on the head of Dante might know of the furnace of passion and imagination beneath. Not only was Earth a living being having soul and Spirit as well as body, but it was a household wherein were god folk as well as the whole tribe of elemental or fairy lives. The Earth Spirit has been talking to me ever since I came here, telling me the meanings of all I have read and many things which never were written." (*The Avatars*, VIII.)

---

* One of Russell's pieces in the *Collected Poems* bears this title as does a chapter of *The Candle of Vision.*

Russell is so much obsessed with the idea of an over-soul that repeated references to it are to be found even in *The Interpreters*, a work of fiction which deals with political idealism and revolution, the antagonism between national states and a world empire. He has a fling at the votaries of the latter who are described as "lifted up by pride and united by a spirit which seemed almost a new manifestation of *cosmic consciousness*" and who "regard themselves less as servants of the empire than as acting under a mandate from Heaven to keep the peace of the world." Russell elsewhere seriously enquires whether *cosmic consciousness* is partially reflected in the history of an empire which has survived for a long period. (*The Interpreters*, p. 30.)

An analysis of imagination, dreams and intuitions leads to the same conclusion about the existence of an oversoul with which the individual mind can hold communion. "*Imagination* is not a vision of something which already exists, and which in itself must be unchanged by the act of seeing, but by imagination what exists in latency or essence is out-realised and is given a form in thought. In imagination there is a revelation of the self to the self, and a definite change in being. Here images appear in consciousness which we may refer definitely to an internal creation." The basis of imagination is not the individual self, for when it is at work, "we feel truly inspired and a mightier creature than ourselves speaks through us." A great man must have "a wisdom of imagination—a wisdom changing as we rise from one plane of being to another." Imagination may begin by "acting outward, creating music, picture, architecture, sculpture, poetry. As we ascend within ourselves, the imagination begins to act inwards, and as it acts, our being becomes incandescent," because it communes with a transcendent being (*The Avatars*, XXII). Dreams prove "that in the heart of sleep there is an intellectual being moving in a world of its own and using transcendental energies......for in the space of a second, almost before a voice has reached the ear of the sleeper or a hand has touched him, some magical engineer has flung a bridge of wild incident over which the spirit races from deep own-being unto outward being. Never when awake could we pack into a second of vivid imagination the myriad incidents that the artificer of dream can create." (*The Candle of Vision.*) Intuition gives sudden and momentary glimpses of divinity. The ecstasy felt can hardly be expressed in words and the process of illumination too cannot be clearly explained. Russell says that he sometimes "came to feel akin to those ancestors of the Aryan in remote spiritual dawns when Earth first extended its consciousness into humanity. In that primal ecstasy and golden age was born that grand spiritual tradition which still remains embodied in Veda and Upanishad, in Persian and Egyptian myth, and which trails glimmering with colour and romance over our own Celtic legends."

Russell clearly indicates the means to be followed for consciously realising the oversoul the existence of which is evidenced by dreams, intuitions, etc. The training of the will and meditation are recommended as the paths leading to the goal. "I set myself to attain mastery over the will. I would choose some mental object, an abstraction of form, and strive to hold my mind fixed on it in unwavering concentration, so that not for a moment, not for an instant, would the consideration slacken. It is an exercise this, a training for higher adventures of the soul. ......The heat of this fervent concentration acts like fire under a pot, and everything in our being boils up madly. We learn our own hitherto unknown character. We did not know we could feel such fierce desires, never imagined such passionate enmities as now awaken. We have created in ourselves a centre of power, and grow real to ourselves. It is dangerous, too, for we have flung ourselves into the eternal conflict between spirit and matter, and find ourselves where the battle is hottest....... None would live through that turmoil if the will were the only power in ourselves we could invoke, for the will is neither good nor bad but is power only, and it vitalises good or bad indifferently. If that were all, our labour would bring us, not closer to divine being, but only to a dilation of the personality. But the ancients who taught us to gain this intensity taught it but as preliminary to a meditation which would not waver and would be full of power. The meditation they urged on us has been explained as 'the inexpressible yearning of the inner man to go out in the infinite.' But that Infinite we would enter is living. It is the ultimate being of us. Meditation is a fiery brooding on that majestic Self. We imagine ourselves into Its vastness. We conceive ourselves as mirroring Its infinitudes, as moving in all things, as living in all beings, in earth, water, air, fire, ether. We try to know as It knows, to live as It lives, to be compassionate as It is compassionate. We equal ourselves to It that we may understand It and become It....... We have imagined ourselves into this pitiful dream of life. By imagination and will we re-enter true being, becoming that we conceive of." (*The Candle of Vision*, pp. 23-24). In the last chapter of *The Avatars*, Paul and his friends try to attain this spiritual life and divine consciousness through meditation and effort of the will. Paul soon feels "a life which was an extension of the life that breathed through those dense infinitudes." "He could not now conceive of himself apart from that great unity."

This is an exposition of the idealism of Russell. It should be supplemented with an account of his grasp of reality. A patriotic Irishman, he was keenly interested in the future of the infant state of Ireland which was ushered into existence during a world conflict. His thoughts on its political and economic conditions show his philosophic comprehension, clear insight and sound common sense. The State is a visible manifestation of a nation's soul. Ireland's politicians therefore should concern themselves as much with the machinery of its government as with its culture. In reality, it is the latter that must determine not only the constitution but also the material advancement and political power of the state. While Irish leaders were engaged in re-adjusting the superficies of things and in reshuffling the political machinery, Russell said, " What we require more than men of action at present are scholars, economists, scientists, thinkers, educationists and littérateurs who will populate the desert depths of national consciousness with real thought and turn the void into a fullness...Our civilisation must depend on the quality of thought engendered in the national being. We have to do for Ireland............ what the long and illustrious line of German thinkers; scientists, poets, philosophers and historians did for Germany or what the poets and artists of Greece did for the Athenians: and that is, to create *national ideals* which will dominate the policy of statesmen and unite in one spirit urban and rural life." This idea is emphasised in *Imaginations and Reveries* in the essay entitled " Nationality or Cosmopolitanism." In discussing national ideals, Russell says that in all highly civilised states the individual citizen is raised above himself and merged, to a certain extent, in a greater life called the National Being. In Ireland democratic feelings must determine the character of its National Being. Rule of the aristocracy is impossible in the present condition of affairs. But democracy in politics does not always lead to democracy in economic life. Thinkers in Ireland will have to discover how this can be rendered possible in their country.

Ireland is principally an agricultural country and most of the people therefore have to live in villages The farmer is the pivot of national life and his condition must be the main subject of discussion in any system of thought bearing on the Irish problem. Unfortunately farmers either do not like or cannot afford to stick to their villages. Many emigrate to the large industrial cities of America. The main reason is that there is no real life, *i.e.*, corporate life in villages. " Since the destruction of the ancient clans in Ireland almost every economic factor in rural life has tended to separate the farmers from each other and from the nation and to bring out an isolation of action...... The first thing which strikes one who travels through rural Ireland is the immense number of little shops. They are scattered along the highways and at cross-roads ; and where there are a few families together in what is called a village, the number of little shops crowded round these consumers is almost incredible......These numerous competitors of each other do not keep down prices. They increase them rather by the unavoidable multiplication of expenses ; and many of them, taking advantage of the countryman's irregularity of income and his need for credit, allow credit to a point where the small farmer becomes a tied customer who cannot pay all he owes, and who therefore dares not deal elsewhere " (*The National Being*, pp. 21-22). Now the small farmer is the typical Irish countryman. The average area of his farm is 25 acres or thereabouts and he has generally a herd of cows, a drift of sheep, a litter of pigs and perhaps a mare and a foal. He has children to maintain. But his methods of agriculture are traditional. His butter, his eggs, his cattle, etc., have to be sold at low prices to local dealers who send them probably across the channel to English markets. But the farmer himself knows nothing of the business currents of Europe. In his isolation he is comparable to the primitive economic cave-man.

Russell suggests co-operation as the only means of ameliorating the condition of the Irish farmer. It will organise the rural people into communities and do away with their isolation. It will give birth to farmers' guilds which will control their buying and selling and market for them their pigs and poultry. These guilds will procure for them seeds, fertilizers and agricultural implements. They may have village halls and women's organisations which will sell the product of women's industry. They may have a co-operative band, social gatherings and concerts. Rural trade will gradually be concentrated in these organisations which will have their meeting-places, committees and executive officers to carry out their decisions. They will have funds to finance their undertakings. Thus will be created " the true communal idea which the Socialists miss in their dream of a vast amalgamation of whole nationalities in one great commercial undertaking.........A rural commune or co-operative community ought to have, to a large extent, the character of a nation " (" Ideals of the Rural Society " in *Imaginations and Reveries*). The co-operative movement will connect the home, the centre of the Irishman's being, to the nation which is its circumference. This connection will be established through membership of a national movement, not for political purposes which call on him for a vote once every few years, but for economic purposes which affect him in the course of his daily occupation.

The only opposition to such a movement will come from agricultural middlemen. They will rage furiously and will organize all their forces to keep the farmers in subjection ; but their efforts are foredoomed to failure.*

Russell believes that if stagnation is removed by economic co-operation, the soul will come back to the dead body of rural Ireland. "In that case, there is no reason why as intense, intellectual and progressive a life should not be possible in the country as in the towns." And if the Irish country-side can offer "to young men and women some satisfactory food for soul as well as body," they will never desert it and leave for overcrowded towns. The national being of which the state is only the visible expression will then be a reality.

Russell's thoughts on rural Ireland must interest Indians, for Ireland and India are both agricultural countries and economic isolation is similar in the villages in both. Russell has drawn largely upon Indian idealism. Will Indians carefully ponder over his suggestions for the material uplift of helpless agrarian people ?

---

* The movement for the organisation of agriculture in Ireland was initiated by Sir Horace Plunkett and the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society is now regarded as a successful institution.

SEAN O' CASEY: AN IRISH DRAMATIST

BENOYENDRAMOHAN CHAUDHURY, M.A.
Lecturer in English, St. Paul's College, Calcutta

POLITICALLY, especially in the modern times, the Irish connection has given England little gain and much trouble, but the compensation has come in literature. England's greatest dramatist, indeed her greatest personality in literature to-day is an Irishman; among her first rate poets more than one Irishman must be counted, and the man whose study we shall be making presently, is an Irishman whose claim to greatness in the world of letters rests, it is true, exclusively on four plays up till now—the first being produced in 1923 and the last in 1929—but who has even by this small output, attracted the attention of lovers of literature and been given a place that is due only to the great: Sean O'Casey is considered to be an important figure in modern English drama.

And yet this man's genius is so limited, his scope so narrow,—the field on which his Mose wanders so restricted that it may appear surprising that his plays grip our mind with so much interest. He is better seen on the stage than read in the closet, partly because his plays were written primarily for the stage and partly because he was exceptionally fortunate in his interpreters on the stage. Still, for the readers who have not seen any of his plays on the stage, he retains a good deal of interest. And the main almost the first reason that occurs to the critical mind for the popularity of his plays is the menagerie of men and women they contain. We call it 'menagerie' deliberately, for these men and women have such oddities in them and yet they throb so vitally with life that they constitute altogether rare and unique specimens of humanity. And Sean O'Casey has emphasised the uncommon aspects of his people so much so that they are emphatically felt to be the creatures of a particular locality different from their fellows of other climes. Sean O'Casey, is first and last a national playwright.

Yet this national playwright of Ireland who had joined and served in the Citizen Army during the Easter Rebellion of 1916, could so rise above the narrow national prejudices and see truth undistorted by patriotic fanaticism that in one of his plays he depicted the Easter Rebellion and the activities of the slumpatriots in their less charitable aspects with the result that a formidable riot broke out at the play house in Dublin when the play was being staged. And indeed his humour is a bitter pill to swallow, it corrodes the biased mind like a strong acid. It does not spare religion or patriotism, truth is the only god it recognizes. This truth he does not state in so many words, but exposes in the garb of a motley. His humour at times, is like the babblings of Lear's Fool, it has a double edge, it chastises the guilty and amuses the unconcerned. Butapart from its satiric purpose, his humour can rise to the truly tragic pitch and arouse the sort of pity and terror of which Aristotle spoke in his *poetics*. Like Shakespeare, whose drunken porter's ghastly jokes over his task of gatekeeping at the castle which crime had bedaubed with the blood of its old host, make us shudder rather than laugh, O'Casey can raise a worthless rascal from his insignificance and put him in a situation that makes him contribute to, and emphasise, the tragedy of which the rascal is totally unconscious. The ending of very few tragedies can be more supurb than that of *Juno and the paycock*. Juno has been disillusioned and on the brink of ruin, all her hopes of getting a legacy against which she had been absurdly borrowing, being dashed to pieces owing to a flaw in the legal technicalities, exposing her and her family to utter destitution and in the wake of this knowledge, comes fresh disgrace in the desertion of her daughter by her lover after she was expecting a child.

But the worst was yet to come and the cup becomes full when just at this moment the news of her son's death at the hands of his former comrades reaches her. And scarcely had the disconsolate mother with her daughter left the stage, when there entered on this scene of stark desolation, two men, deep drunk and uttering broken incoherent syllables, one Juno's precious husband, the 'paycock' and the other his boon companion Joxer Daly. The curtain falls on Boyle's last words:

> I'm telling you......J oxer......th' whole worl's
> ......in a terr......ible state O'......chassis!

Nothing perhaps more emphasises the tragedy and makes it so terrible as the appearance of these rascals unconscious of the whole situation and their surroundings, and the impression one gets from this scene can never fade from one's mind.

Modern tragedy hardly lifts us above our normal existence, it never depicts the utter tragic helplessness of man in its sublime and grand aspects. It is a more or less weak affair, neither dealing with men of towering personality nor with situations that touch the innermost depths of the soul by its appeal to the sublime and universal passions of man. Modern tragedy is at best a serious and intense affair dealing with the problems with which a particular individual or society is faced. It hardly ever unlooses the mighty, ungovernable passions of man and makes them rage in their primitive fury. Its tragic situations hardly impel us to say with the Doctor in *Macbeth*, 'God, god, forgive us all!' Sean O'Casey too has not reached such high standard of the Elizabethan tragedians, though he takes his lessons mostly from Shakespeare. But once at any rate, in this last scene of the play mentioned above, he has attained the height of a tragedian.

This combination of humour with tragedy is an important part of the technique of O'Casey's plays. In all his tragedies—and his plays are all tragedies—he tempers (and heightens?) the tragic tone with comic touches and in this he is a follower of Shakespeare with a vengeance. It is an old point of dispute whether tragedy should be free from all light touches whatsoever and the fight that was fought one day between Ben Jonson and Shakespeare, is not settled yet, though in modern playwrights we can find little encouragement of the combination. But Sean O'Casey is a perfect romantic and like his master, takes his lesson from life, not classic conventions. He seasons his plays all through with strong humour and his people are never dull. In their exuberance and rich vitality they live their own lives, at times even apart from the necessity of the play for which they were created. But of course the smile of their creator is not always genial or kindly. He is often ironical and even satiric as in the *The Plough and the Stars* where he has enough bitter things to say.

From Shakespeare, O'Casey learnt another important dramatic device, namely dramatic irony. Of this, he is full. His irony at times becomes very poignant in view of what follows as it is in the closing of the 1st act of *The Shadow of a Gunman* where Donal Davoren soliloquises:

> Minnie, Donal; Donal, Minnie. Very pretty, but very ignorant. A Gunman on the run! Be careful, be careful, Donal Davoren. But Minnie is attracted to the idea, and I am attracted to Minnie. And what danger can there be in being the shadow of a gunman?

The danger came at last in his being the shadow of a gunman but it came not to him, but to 'very pretty but very ignorant' Minnie, and what had begun by amusing the reader ended in tragedy.

This Minnie Powell is rather an extraordinary character because Sean O'Casey cares little to portray any serious character without any touch of humour. She is idealistic and patriotic and though endowed with a poor intellect is a frank, courageous girl. Of his people, very few like her could stand the test of the times, though they all belong emphatically to their time. O'Casey's limitation in his characters is that they belong not only exclusively to Ireland and the Ireland of the first two decades of the twentieth century but also to a certain class. Excepting one or two, who have a tolerable education and who are rather weak characters they all are poor, half-educated, slum-dwellers. His knowledge of them is first hand because he himself lived in tenements and led the life of the misreable folk he gives life to. That is why they are so real and convincing. And once we accept this limitation of our playwright and agree to interest ourselves in these precious men and women of Ireland, we shall presently find what a great source of pleasure and amusment these odd, almost *bizarre* people furnish. A whole gallery of them is there. And what is most characteristic of their creator, he makes all of them yield mirth to us. Even the most tragic character has his humorous side and we are made to laugh either at or by, them. Of course this humour is very broad and has little subtlety about it. Almost all the characters have their mannerisms in speech and they appear occasionally more as caricatures than characters. His very first play, *The Shadow of a Gunman* gives us a few characters almost all of which have some oddities in them and though a tragedy, it does not take a tragic turn until the end of the last act, when a heroic girl sacrifiices her life on the altar of nationalism while the man who posed as the gunman to keep alive her admiration plays the coward. The story and the plot construction are very simple. Donal Davoren, a sentimental poet wrestling eternally with his fancy and language, lives in a tenement house where his fellow lodgers wrongly take him for a gunman and in Minnie Powell's admiration for him as a gunman he tacitly acquiesces and proceeds to make love to her. In the second and last act, the Police raid the tenement house. Davoren discovers a bag of bombs in his room left there without their knowledge by af riend of the man who shares his room. Just at this moment, Minnie comes into the room and offers to carry the bag into her room and the agonized Davoren and his room-mate were only too glad and relieved. The Black and Tans come, search the house, find Minnie with the bombs and arrest her. As she is going to jump off the lorry in which they placed her, she is shot through her bosom and dies. This in short is the story of the play.

O'Casey's irony is powerful. He has portrayed in all their human littlenesses and foibles the men and women whose fate it was to live to witness the constant fights, ambushes, raids, incessant whistling of bullets, in fact all the incidents of a civil war that the dark days of 1920 witnessed in Ireland when the Black and Tans were fighting the Irish Republican Army. Not that he has not depicted heroism. Minnie's case is a noble example. But for one Minnie he has depicted a number of people limited by their selfishness and extreme fear. Little common men, they could have flourished easily and happily in a calm atmosphere, but all their nerves were strained in these difficult days in which their lot was cast. Times were out of joint, their courage was brought to the test and they miserably failed to stand it. Nothing can be more a subject of pathetic irony than the spectacle of the ordinary people being called upon to live up to such tense situations and dangerous times and failing to rise to the occasion. All the littleness that lies hidden deep down in ordinary life rushes up to the surface with a such glare and prominence that we are apt to misjudge the people. They are not worse than their fellows of any other country, their weaknesses are human, though pathetically amusing. Sean O'Casey adds more humour to these characters by endowing them with individual eccentricities and angularities. Tommy Owens is a character who is the cause of wit in other men. His very appearance is provocative of laughter. He is small and thin, his words are uttered in a nasal drawl, his voice is husky, he drinks hard and smokes incessantly. He appears on the stage at a very uncomfortable moment for Davoren who was just then going to kiss Minnie. His very first speech makes the whole audience shake with laughter. He gives a gentle cough to draw attention to his presence and says:

> I seen nothin'—honest—thought you was learning to typewrite—Mr. Davoren teaching you. I seen nothin' else—s'help me God.

But of course apart from this fun in situation, Tommy himself is funny. So is Seumer Shields who finds in others faults which are really his own. A late riser, 'a land mine exploding under the bed is the only thing that would lift him out of it'—he rises at half past twelve to castigate his friend who was to come to him at his room at nine and evidently failed to keep the appointment:

> Did anybody ever see the like of the Irish people? Is there any use of trying to do anything in this country?

Indeed this man's selfish selfcomplacence and sublime unconcern for anybody else is Falstaffian. He has no troublesome conscience and seeks his safety first. If Minnie Powell is arrested for a fault which was more his than hers, all his concern is about himself and he repeats shamelessly:

> Oh, grant she won't say anything!
> Did she say anything, is she sayin'
> anything, wh at's she sayin' Mrs. Grigson?

But this is not all. Even in this small play the number of odd characters is fairly large. Mrs. Henderson, nervous Mr. Gallogher, the cowardly braggart, Grigson—all of them are funny and their company is most amusing.

O'Casey's next play is a more elaborate effort in construction and characterization and technically a better piece. The note of tragedy is much more emphasised and is intensified by the crass humour of the drunken scenes. This play, *Juno and the Paycock* is also more concentrated than the earlier piece and shows the author at his best. *Juno and the Paycock* was followed by *The plough and the stars* which carries us back to the Easter Rebellion of 1916. It is evident that O'Casey did not confine his picture to the tragedy that it meant for the Irish people. For him, nothing, not even the most tragic situation is devoid of humour and it is owing to his portrayal of the humorous aspect of the rising that a terrible riot took place on its production in Dublin. This play is still more elaborate than *Juno and the Paycock* and is less concentrated than the latter. The odd characters are more numerous than anywhere else. There is Fluther Good, the carpenter, Mrs. Gogan, the old fashioned woman, Peter, the phlegmatic and a number of others. Each of them has his or her own mannerism.—Peter's comical prayer for patience, Fluther's unrestricted use of the words 'derogatory' and '*vice versa*' and the young Covey's fad of socialism. They are all reminiscent of the odd people of Dickens. The story of the play turns round

Jack Clitheroe and his wife Nora who is quite a romantic type of modern girl fond of "billing and cooing like a turtle dove" with him. She cannot rise from her peaceful enjoyment of conjugal love to the height of the situation brought about by a national rising. Commandant Clitheroe leaves the nest of love for his more manly occupation of leading the revolutionary army and is eventually killed. His wife lost her wits by the catastrophe and the curtain falls on two British Tommies drinking and singing over the dead body of an innocent woman killed by their bullets.

The characters of this play as they are in all O'Casey's plays are well defined and even the minor characters are not devoid of their personality. There is not much greatness about them, they are all common human beings set against unusual circumstances in life. The real greatness of O'Casey is not so much his power of characterization as that of a vivid and graphic presentation of Ireland and its people of an extraordinary period in her history. That such a convincing and eloquent history can be presented with such economy of means speaks highly of the writer. Sean O'Casey will live because his characters are typical of their country and class—men and women who have lived to see the days of rebellion and fight and disaster that visited their unfortunate land. The long cruel struggle between British Imperialism and the forces of Irish self-determination and the consequent suffering of the common folk of Ireland never got such a powerful artist for their representation.

His next and up till now, last play is altogether different from his earlier plays both in technique and appeal. Though the characters of *The Silver Tassie* are still Irish, yet the story is no longer confined to Ireland. The background is the last world war and O'Casey has given scenes of the warzone and supplemented his prose with elevated poetry to suit his language with the grand conception of the war. Unlike its predecessors, and inspite of Bernard Shaw's high opinion of the play, it was a failure on the stage. It lacked that 'go' which O'Casey's previous plays abundantly possess. The characters also are no longer individuals and there is an element of incongruity in the difference of manner between the first and the second act. The realism of the first is followed by the elevated imaginative tone of the second act where blank verse and sometimes 'stylized' dialogue are used. Evidently, he designed it to be a great literary piece, a sublime song on one of the grandest spectacles of the modern times—but critical opinion is sharply divided about its greatness and if Shaw considered it ' wonderful ' Yeats thought that O'Casey was not sufficiently moved and excited by his subject to make the play dramatically effective.

Sean O'Casey's output is absurdly small in proportion to his fame. Excepting his last piece, none of his plays have any pretensions to universal appeal. They are frankly parochial. His men and women are more the product of his memory and observation than of his imagination. The background of his play is contemporary Ireland and is certainly not less important than his characters. The dramatic technique is neither very complex nor original. He himself admits his great debt to Shakespeare whose plays he has read so many times and so carefully that he knows whole passages of his plays by rote. One of the strongest influences of Shakespeare's technique is of course in his combination of the humorous and the tragic. But in this age when action is subordinated to a discussion of problems O'Casey carries the traditional ideal in his art and never makes a platform of the stage. His plays are full of action and though his dialogue smacks of a literary style reminiscent of great masters quite inconsistent with the intellect of the people who talk it, yet the incongruous effect is entirely lost because he took pains to transform it into Irish brogue. But though his debts to Elizabethan masters is great, he is not entirely blind to the greatness of his great contemporaries. The influence of Shaw is discernible, though not often, in his stage direction and in his analysis of characters therein and also at times in his attempt at witty paradoxes. But these are few and far between and Sean O'Casey is one of those very few modern playwrights who think the methods of the old masters can still be imitated and reproduced with an effect which, if not sublime in its Elizabethan grandeur is still powerful in its grand human appeal.

Calcutta.

ANGLO-IRISH RELATIONS SINCE THE 1921 TREATY*

ST. NIHAL SINGH

THE "Articles of Agreement for a Treaty between Great Britain and Ireland," upon which rest the foundations of the Irish Free State were silent upon a matter of cardinal importance. The instrument, State, so specific in other respects, contained no direct reference to the judicial competence of the state that it was to generate, whether her judicial system was to be fully self-sufficing or whether decisions handed down from its highest tribunal were subject to review and, if necessary, to reversal upon the advice of an authority outside her limits—the judicial Committee of His Majesty's Privy Council.

This silence had, no doubt, been maintained with the laudable object of refraining from adding unnecessarily to the difficulties of the Irish delegation, who, the members of His Majesty's Government in negotiation with them realized, would have a hard enough task in winning the approbation of their Sinn Fein ("we alone") colleagues for the pact despite the care with which it was framed. The limitations upon the Free State authority incorporated in the Agreement were wholly of a nature which derogated from the powers of a self-governing Dominion. In the absence of such specific provision, that state would, in consequence of being given the status of a Dominion,[1] have possessed competence in such matters.

The Prime Minister (Mr. David Lloyd George) referred to this particular aspect of the instrument in the lengthy statement he made in the House of Commons on December 14, 1921. He instanced the difficulties that would have arisen " if full and complete Dominion Government were conferred on Ireland." [2]

---

* Continued from our previous issue.

[1] Article 1 reads : Ireland shall have the same constitutional status in the Community of Nations known as the British Empire as the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand and the Union of South Africa, with a Parliament having powers to make laws for the peace, order and good government of Ireland and an Executive responsible to that Parliament, and shall be styled and known as the Irish Free State.

[2] Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, Vol. 149, No. 1, Col. 33.

The Irish were not to "have complete control over their army and navy" lest they may "raise an army of half a million men" and thereby cast a shadow upon Britain's security. They were also to concede certain facilities—accessibility, in times of war, to Irish harbours and creeks, the use of coastal positions for the defence of British commerce and the like. In giving the Free State the benefit of "the law, practice and constitutional usage governing the relationship of the Crown or the representative of the Crown and of the Imperial Parliament to the Dominion of Canada,"[3] care had been taken to indicate that such benefit was to be "subject to the provisions" set out in the Agreement.

The Canadian practice, on the other hand, must have been deemed sufficient to safeguard the judicial privilege of the Crown. Precisely as subjects in that Dominion aggrieved at decisions handed down by courts they could petition to His Majesty for justice that, in their view, had been denied by those courts, so would persons dissatisfied with the judgments delivered by the highest tribunal in the Free State be able to seek redress from the King-in-Council as the fount of justice.

Whether this matter was made plain, at the time, to the members of the Irish delegation or not is not fully clear. It is believed on authority that appears to be credible to the present writer, that the draft Constitution taken from Dublin to London prior to its introduction in the Dail, permitted to function virtually as a Constituent Assembly,[4] contained no provision to safeguard the judicial privilege of the Crown. The decisions of the Supreme Court of the Irish Free State were to be "final and conclusive" in all cases and incapable of "being reviewed by any other Court, Tribunal or authority whatsover."

---

[3] Article 2 reads : Subject to the provisions hereinafter set out the position of the Irish Free State in relation to the Imperial Parliament and Government and otherwise shall be that of the Dominion of Canada, and the law, practice and constitutional usage governing the relationship of the Crown or the representative of the Crown and of the Imperial Parliament to the Dominion of Canada shall govern the relationship to the Irish Free State.

[4] Article 17 reads : "By way of provisional arrangement for the administration of Southern Ireland during the interval which must elapse between the date hereof and the constitution of a Parliament and Government of the Irish Free State in accordance therewith, steps shall be taken forthwith for summoning a meeting of members of Parliament elected for constituencies in Southern Ireland since the passing of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, and for constituting a provisional government, and the British Government shall take the steps necessary to transfer to such provisional Government the powers and machinery requisite for the discharge of its duties, provided that every member of such provisional Government shall have signified in writing his or her acceptance of this instrument. But this arrangement shall not continue in force beyond the expiration of twelve months from the date thereof.

Be this as it may, a proviso safeguarding the Crown's judicial privilege appeared in the Constitution Bill as it was introduced in the Dail. Added to Article 66, it read:

"Nothing in this Constitution shall impair the right of any person to appeal from the Supreme Court to His Majesty in Council or the right of His Majesty to grant such leave."[5]

This proviso was subjected to furious attack in the Dail. Since, however, Mr. Eamonn de Valera and his followers had walked out of that body following the vote ratifying the Treaty in January, 1922, the provisional Government headed by Mr. Liam Mac Cosgair (William T. Cosgrave) was able to carry it through.

They had done so in loyalty to the understanding into which they had entered with His Majesty's Government. They were far from happy, however. They wished their judicial machinery to be fully self-sufficing, no less than did Mr. de Valera and his supporters, known as Irish Republicans. They feared, moreover, that the reviewability of the Supreme Court decisions by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council was likely to be used by certain elements unreconciled to the new state to harass her and to endeavour to increase her financial burden. They knew, furthermore, that that limitation would be exploited by their political opponents, who never tired of representing that the Dublin administration was no more than a creature of Britain, tamely carrying out Downing Street's orders. Powerless to alter matters at that stage, they had, however, to bide their opportunity.

The Board of the Privy Council which heard the first petition for leave to review the decisions of the Irish Courts displayed a sympathetic attitude when the Attorney-General of the Irish Free State (Mr. Hugh Kennedy, now Chief Justice of that State, and one of the principal authors of the Constitution) made a carefully worded appeal to give the Free State the benefit of the South African practice in respect of references to that Council. He argued that the Free State, not being federal, as Canada was, no conflict between provinces necessitating the good offices of an external authority was likely to occur. The South African precedent was, on the contrary, much more applicable because both were "unitary" states.

---

[5] Article 66: Constitution of the Irish Free State (Saorstat Eireann), Act No. 1 of 1922.

In making that plea Mr. Kennedy knew that the references from the Union of South Africa to the Privy Council were few and that a strong body of opinion there did not favour even these references. The fear must no doubt have entered his mind that, unless care were taken at that stage, the highest tribunal in the Free State may, in effect, have a status no higher than that of the highest tribunal in a Canadian province.

Matters drifted until 1925, when leave to appeal from the decision of the Free State Supreme Court was sought in three cases. It was refused in one and granted in the other two, both having an important bearing upon the Free State administration.

One of these cases related to houses, offices and lands situated in County Dublin. The petitioner (Mr. Francis Lynham) claimed to have become entitled to that property on the death, in August, 1924, of Mrs. MacInerney, who had been tenant for life. In behalf of the Free State Mr. M. W. Jellett, K. C., of the Irish Bar, contended that in virtue of the Land Purchase Act (to which reference will be made later) the tenancy had ceased and that that view had been Court of First Instance and confirmed by the Supreme Court. He upheld in the pleading that "it had already been decided that there was no appeal."

The Board of the Privy Council, consisting of the Lord Chancellor (Lord Cave), Lord Dunedin and Lord Shaw, nevertheless, granted leave to appeal.[6] The Free State authorities, already beset with difficulties concerning land purchase operations, took the most serious view of that action.

In the other case the petitioner sought leave to appeal against a decision of the Free State Supreme Court as to the terms of the computation of pensions to judges, members of the police force and civil servants in employ in Ireland prior to the signing of the Treaty. These persons numbered 20,000 and it was contended that this decision had the effect of rendering nugatory and valueless the words of Article 10 of that Treaty.[7]

This contention had been made in the Court of First Instance in the Free State and there had been upheld. The Supreme Court, however, reversed the decision. In behalf of the Free State it was argued before the same Board of the Privy Council that the petitioners

---

[6] *The Times* (London), December 8, 1925.

[7] Article 10 of the Treaty reads : The Government of the Irish Free State agrees to pay fair compensation on terms not less favourable than those accorded by the Act of 1920 to judges, officials, members of the Police Forces and other Public Servants who are discharged by it or who retire in consequence of the charge of government effected in pursuance thereof.

> " wanted to get something better than would have been given them by their Government. When they were transferred to the Irish Government they were subject to the existing regulations, and these regulations should govern the basis of fixing pensions and superannuation allowances." [8]

Leave to appeal was granted. The Free State authorities took a serious view of it. Even at the rates at which they were paying compensation to ex-civil servants and the police the liability was heavy.

Questions asked, subsequently, in Parliament confirmed the Free State's contention. It was admitted that the two Civil Servants (Wigg and Cochrane) were insisting upon payment at a rate in excess of the amount they would have received had they remained in the British Civil Service. The Free State authorities, therefore, had equity on their side.

The action of the Privy Council, in both these cases, had an important repurcussion upon the Free State Government.. Within a month of it the Minister for Justice (Mr. Kevin O'Higgins) introduced in the Dail a Bill intended to assert definitely the Supreme Court's authority in the Irish Free State and to prevent " frivolous appeals," as he put it, from that Court to the King-in-Council.

In presenting this measure, Mr. O'Higgins asserted that an assurance had been given by the British Government to the Free State at the time the Constitution was drafted that the force of the Article referring to the preservation by the Free State of the King's prerogative was to be theoretical rather than practical. Though the Free State Constitution was modelled on that of Canada, it was understood that the practice in regard to appeals to the Privy Council was to follow the South African custom. South Africa, like the Free State and unlike Canada or Australia, was unitary. There could, therefore, be no disputes between State Governments. The number of appeals to the Privy Council was consequently far less in the case of South Africa than in that of either of the other two Dominions.

[8] *The Times* (London), December 8, 1925.

Mr. O'Higgins contended that in allowing an appeal recently from the Free State Supreme Court the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council had made

"a very clear and definite departure from the undertakings given to Irish Ministers at the time when the draft constitution was the subject of joint consideration."

He asked the Dail to declare and to confirm that the interpretation given by the High Court and Supreme Court to the Land Act of 1923 was, and always had been, the correct interpretation. He declared that even on the ground of common sense, apart from any question of status or national sensitiveness, it was, not desirable that appeals should be admitted outside the State in respect of the litigation arising within it. If that line were to be allowed to be developed, it would simply mean that they would get back to the position of the old House of Lords, that appeals lay as of right, and as a matter of course, from, Irish litigation. Any such development would be wrong and dangerous.

Conservative opinion in Britain vigorously upheld the King's judicial privilege. The Lord Chancellor (Lord Cave) stated from the Woolsack in the House of Lords that the introduction in the Dail of this measure to undermine the decision of the Privy Council had created a serious situation. He lay great stress on the right of every British subject to appeal to the King-in-Council.

Lord Darling wrote in *the Times* (London) in much the same strain. He reinforced his lengthy argument by a quotation from "Chapters on the Law relating to the Colonies," by Sir James Tarring, reading:

"It is the settled prerogative of the Crown to receive appeals in Colonial cases. The King has authority by virtue of his prerogative to review the decisions of all Colonial Courts, whether the proceedings be of a civil or criminal character, unless his Majesty has parted with such authority." [1]

To clench his argument, he drew attension to the fact that the Councillors "are not unfrequently assisted by their fellows from the Dominions themselves."

Liberal opinion in Britain was distinctly averse from forcing the Privy Council procedure upon Dominions that chafed against it. Lord

---

[9] *The Times* (London), January 29, 1926.
[10] *The Times* (London), March 19, 1926.

Haldane, for instance, reminded his fellow-Peers that Dominions had grown and were growing. If any Dominion made out a case for disposing of justice within her own confines, it would, in his opinion, be difficult for the Imperial Parliament to decline to give effect to her wishes.

The Free States delegates to the Imperial Conference of 1926 tried to induce that Conference to help them in the matter. They stated that they desired the total abolition of appeals to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council and that that proposal would have the support of some of the other Dominions. That body was too much absorbed in larger questions (relating to the status and powers of the Dominions *vis a vis* Great Britain) to be able to pay attention to this issue.

The Free State Government introduced, in 1928, legistation nulifying the effect of any award handed down by the Privy Council. The Minister for Finance (Mr. Blythe) definitely stated that that State would not, in future, be represented before that Council in any case ; that any private litigant who appealed to that Council did so at his own risk; that any decision given by the Council contrary to that of the Free State Supreme Court would be rendered nugatory.

In February of that year a Conservative Member of Parliament (Sir William Davison) called the attention of the Secretary for the Colonies (Mr. L. A. S. Amery), by means of a question, to the fact that the Free State had refused to pay to ex-Civil Servants a farthing more than the compensation to which they were entitled in terms of the Irish Supreme Court decision. To his surprise, the Colonial Secretary replied that " no injustice was being done towards the Civil Servants as they were being put on a basis corresponding to that of the British Civil Servants in Great Britain." He declined to take any notice of the point that these men were being " deprived of the right which they had under Article 10 of the Treaty " as decided by the Privy Council in the case already referred to.

Sir William Davison, joined by the Lord Carson, Lord Danesport and Mr. Basil Peto, indited a letter to the *Times* in which, after referring to Mr. Amery's statement as " something incredible," they stated:

" We are therefore confronted, not only with a betrayal by the British Government of rights of Irish Civil Servants which the Treaty and successive British Governments had solemnly guaranteed, but with a constitutional issue of the most far-reaching consequences, which affects not only the Irish Free State, but all the self-governing Dominions. It is difficult to believe that Mr. Amery's statement embodies the considerd judgment of the British Government. It will and must, be challenged in both Houses of Parliament."

These and similar other protests had no effect upon the Free State authorities. They refused to recognize the reversal by the Privy Council of any Supreme Court decision.

In April, 1930, a Board of that Council consisting of the Lord Chancellor (Lord Sankey), Lord Blanesburgh, Lord Hanworth, Lord Thankerton and Lord Russel of Killowen, reviewed the position at some length. The opportunity was furnished to them by a petition made by the Performing Right Society Limited, who alleged infringement of the Society's copyright in two musical compositions on August 11, 1926. The Court of First Instance decided in their favour bu the Supreme Court reversed that decision. The Copyright Act, place on the Dublin statute book in 1927, repealed the (Imperial) Copyrigh Act of 1911 retroactively, as from December 6, 1921—the date of th Treaty. The Supreme Court held that the acquisition of the copyright in these compositions was subsequent to that date. Since the Irish Act did not otherwise preserve or create copyright "except in works first published in the Irish Free State, or of which the authors were citizens of or resident in the Irish Free State, the Society was, in the Supreme Court's view, without any protection at all."

The Board of the Privy Council held that there had been infringement of copyright, but in view of the retroactive nature of the Act of 1927, the society was debarred from obtaining the relief it sought. Since, however, the Counsel for the respondents (the Bray Urban District Council) had contended that the Board had no jurisdiction, Lord Sankey took the opportunity to declare:

> "the Privy Council was of opinion that it had been concluded by the Constitution of the Irish Free State itself (that the Board possessed jurisdiction to hear this case). The Privy Council could not think that the words 'His Majesty in Council,' as used in the Irish Free State Constitution and in both Acts of Parliament to which it was scheduled meant anything else than the Privy Council on whose advice the King acted in dealing with appeals from the Dominions."

Opinion in Dominions other than the Irish Free State had, in the meantime, been hardening against the right of appeal to the judicial

Committee. It was felt that such a procedure militated against the new Dominion concept of equality in status. British politicians might talk as much as they pleased about distinguished lawyers from overseas sitting on the Judicial Committee Board: but their presence on that body did not alter the fact that in matters judicial each Dominion was not self-contained as she was in other respects.

A motion had been introduced in 1927 by Mr. Theriault in the provincial legislature of Quebec to put an end to the Privy Council appeals. It was born of the chagrin caused by the Judicial Committee disallowing, some time earlier, Quebec's claim to Labrador. To allay resentment Dr. Taschereau, the Liberal statesman, recalled that, in other cases, the same Committee had decided in their favour and that, being British subjects, they must retain the right to go to the foot of the throne.

In the (Dominion) Criminal Code of Canada a section was, however, inserted that purported to take away the right of appeal to the Privy Council in criminal cases. That section had to be repealed, because in passing it the Dominion legislature had ignored the legal limitations imposed upon it by the Colonial Laws Validity Act.

At the Imperial Conference of 1930 it was decided to repeal legislation that was in conflict with the new status of the Dominions. The Statute of Westminster of 1931 repealed the Colonial Courts of Admiralty Act of 1860, the Merchant Shipping Act of 1894 and the Colonial Laws Validity Act of 1895. Shortly afterwards Canada re-enacted the section forbidding appeals in criminal cases to the Privy Council;[11] and the Oirechtas passed an amendment to the Constitution abolishing such right in all cases.[12]

Issues arising from such legislation came up for consideration in June, 1935, before a Board consisting of the Lord Chancellor (Lord Sankey), Lord Atkin, Lord Tomlin, Lord MacMillan and Lord Wright. Special leave was sought by Major R. L. Moore and others to appeal from a majority judgment of the Supreme Court of the Irish Free State dismissing an action for alleged trespass of certain fishing rights claimed by the petitioners in the tidal portion of the river Erne in County Denegal. It was submitted that the amendment abrogating the right of appeal to the Privy Council was repugnant to the Treaty.

---

[11] Section 17 of 23 and 24 Geo. V. c. 53.

[12] The Constitution (Amendment No. 22) Act. 1933.

The Board held, however, that since the Statute of Westminster had repealed the Colonial Laws Validity Act forbidding a Dominion to pass a law repugnant to an Imperial Statute, the competence of the Irish Free State to pass such an amendment[13] could not be questioned. In their Lordships' opinion that Statute gave the Free State "a power under which they could abrogate the Treaty, and, as a matter of law, they had availed themselves of that power."

The Lord Chancellor and his learned colleagues refrained from expressing any "opinion on any contractual obligations under which, regard being had to the terms of the Treaty, the Irish Free State lay." The petition, having failed, was dismissed.

Even if that State could be legally convicted of having broken the pact upon which her existence was based, it would have been hardly politic to take any action against her, at least in a matter of this kind. As noted earlier in the article, that instrument did not specifically lay any such obligation upon the Free State. Except in specified matters she was to model her governmental policy on the Canadian pattern; and Canada had chosen to make her criminal courts independent of the Privy Council.

It so happened that the Canadian competence to pass measure this was also tested in June of this year. The British Coal Corporation and four other companies importing coal into Quebec, had been convicted on the charge of "combining together with a view to unduly restricting the coal industry," as stated by one of the judges, and fined $30,000. They sought redress from the Quebec Court of the King's Bench (Appeals side) but failed to secure it.

In advising the Crown to dismiss their petition, a Board of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, presided over by the Lord Chancellor (Lord Sankey) clarified the constitutional position by pronouncing:

"........the North America Act, 1867, invested the Dominion Parliament, by necessary intendment, in cases within its jurisdiction, with the power to regulate or prohibit appeals to the King-in-Council. Before the Statute of Westminster the Dominion Legislature was subject to the limitations imposed by the Colonial Laws Validity Act, and also by the principle of rule that its powers were limited by the Doctrine forbidding extraterritorial legislation. These limitations had now been abrogated by the Statute. The section in question was valid and barred the right of appeal in criminal matters." [14]

---

[13] *Ibid.*

The amendment to the Constitution that put an end to the exercise in the Free State of the Crown's judicial prerogative was passed at Mr. de Valera's insistence. He, however, built upon the foundations laid by his predecessor, Mr. Liam T. MacCosgair and his colleagues, particularly Mr. Kevin O'Higgins (who was assassinated on July 10, 1927) and Mr. Ernest Blythe.

Returned repeatedly to the Dail at the head of nearly 50 members, Mr. de Valera refused, for years, to enter that Assembly on the plea that he could not conscientiously take the "oath" to a "foreign" King, incorporated in the Treaty and the Constitution. Protracted and bitter wrangles are known to have taken place during the negotiations over the position to be accorded to the Crown in the polity of the Irish Free State. They were finally ended by a formula, in the drafting of which Lord Birkenhead is believed to have had a large hand. In its final form (Article 4) "the oath to be taken by Members of the Parliament of the Irish Free State," appeared to reconcile British Imperialism with Irish patriotism.[15]

Mr. Lloyd George waxed enthusiastic in the House of Commons over the advantages it secured to Britain. There had been, he stated, "complete acceptance of allegiance to the British Crown and acceptance of membership in the Empire and acceptance of common citizenship. [16]

It was, on the contrary, put to Irishmen by their countrymen who had set their hands to this instrument and their partisans that the primary allegiance of the Irish Members of the Oireachtas would be "to the Constitution of the Irish Free State as by law established." They added that these members did not pledge *allegiance* to his Majesty King George V., his heirs and successors—they bound themselves only to be "faithful." They did so, moreover, not because he was the sovereign of Great Britain, but constituted because he was the link connecting "the group of nations forming the British Commonwealth of Nations."

---

[14] *The Times* (Weekly Edition), London, June 13, 1935.

[15] This Article, as translated into the constitution, reads:

"The oath to be taken by members of the Oireachtas shall be in the following form :—

'I..................do solemnly swear true faith and allegiance to the constitution of the Irish Free State as by law established, and that I will be faithful to H. M. King George V., his heirs and successors by law in virtue of the common citizenship of Ireland with Great Britain and her adherence to and membership of the group of nations forming the British Commonwealth of Nations.'

"Such oath shall be taken and subscribed by every member of the Oireachtas before taking his seat therein before the representative of the Crown or some person authorised by him."

[16] Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, Vol. 149, No. 1. Col. 33.

Left to himself, Mr. de Valera would, it is said, have persevered in the line of action to which he had committed himself; but yielding to his followers, he finally swallowed the "oath" and entered the Dail at the head of his (the Fiana Fail) contingent. He made no secret of his intention to expunge that formula from the Constitution as soon as he could. And he did so, at the earliest opportunity.

Such unilateral action was patently in direct contravention of one of the most important articles contained in the Treaty; and there is little doubt that His Majesty's Government must have protested against it. No punitive action was, however, taken, because it must have been realised that "faithfulness" to his Majesty, enforced through duress, would not be worth much.

* * * *

ONLY in one matter has the Free State been subjected to punitive action in the endeavour to make her alter her course that prejudicially affected British citizens. In this case the damage could be assessed in hard cash, for Mr. de Valera had refused to meet the obligations in respect of land annuities floated by the Cosgrave Government, assumed to liquidate landlordism in the Free State.

Tenancies were *compulsorily* to be purchased at fifteen times the rental value. The cost of the operations was estimated to total some £20,000,000. The owners were to be paid the capitalised value of the land and buildings standing thereon in annuities which were to be guaranteed by His Majesty's Government.

Many landlords grumbled at the terms forced upon them. One of them—Lord Lansdowne writing to the *Times* gave the following instance in support of his contention that the purchase price was inadequate:

> "It is almost superfluous to dwell upon the hardship involved in cases where the owners have spent money in the improvement of their estates. In a case to which my attention has lately been drawn

the farm, 81 acres, was valued for Poor Law purposes at £ 16 and 'was let prior to 1881 for £ 22. The judicial rent for the first term was £19 and for the second term £15-10*s*. This farm will be acquired by the sitting tenant under the Act of 1923 for £212. 14*s*., and he will for the future have to pay, in lieu of rent, an annuity of £10. 1*s*. 6*d*. The owner will receive £ 233. 6*s*. 3*d*. He had spent £ 223. 14*s*. on the farm buildings. The tenant right of this holding has lately been acquired by another farmer for £1,025.''[17]

Lord Lansdowne added:

> "It will not be forgotten that the question of purchase terms was fully discussed by the Convention in 1918, and that the Bill of 1920, founded on the report of the Convention, fixed 20 years' purchase as a reasonable figure. This proposal found acceptance both in the North and South of Ireland. Members of the then Government announced, in speeches which have often been quoted, that this rate of purchase would form the basis of any new scheme of land purchase.''[18]

Mr. Patrick Hogan, the Member for Agriculture in the Cosgrave Government, who had worked out and carried through the Dail the scheme, told the present writer that the landlords were offered much more generous terms under the Wyndham Act but would not sell. He had, hence, left them no option. Land purchase was to be compulsory.

He scouted the notion of hardship. He challenged his critics to compare the provisions of his Act with those of similar legislation in some of the middle European states (Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and Roumania). He was confident that they would find the European measures confiscatory, placed alongside his scheme.

Before entering the Dail, Mr. de Valera had declared that he would save some £3,000,000 a year to the Free State by refusing to pay the land annuities. Soon after he came into power he carried out that intention.

His Majesty's Government retaliated by imposing a surcharge upon Irish imports into Britain and utilising the money so realized to the pay annuities. The losses inflicted upon Irish producers and shippers have been aggravated by the retaliatory measures taken by Mr. de Valera. Irishmen have, indeed been hard hit.

---

[17] February 2, 1926.
[18] *The Times* (London), February 2, 1926.

Instead of being flooded out of office by the rising tide of discontent and resentment, as it was predicted by critics at home and abroad he would be, Mr. de Valera appears to have improved his position in the Dail. The recent bye-elections have resulted in his having a clear majority over all parties and relieved him of his dependence upon Labour.

Efforts to find a *modus vivandi* to adjust the differences over the annuities are being made. Britain and the Free State are economically interdependent and this sort of warfare cannot last for long.

Even though Mr. de Valera has emphasized separation by legislation regulating "Irish citizenship" and has expressed his intention to abolish the office of the "representative of the Crown in the Irish Free State," the issues that, in the past, created friction between the two nations have been mostly adjusted by statesmanship on either side and, sometimes, by the spirit of *laissez faire* upon Britain's part. The feeling is growing that in the event of hostilities, Britain may well count upon at least the benevolent neutrality of the Free State.*

(*Concluded.*)

---

* Rights of translation and subsequent reproduction reserved by the author.

WHITHER AMERICA

SHIVKUMAR SASTRI, M.A. (CAL.), M.A. (PUNJ.)

I

SINCE the popularisation of the psychological method in the interpretation of politics by men like Graham Wallas and Walter Lippman it has become difficult to admit of absolute truth in any spoken or written word. The speaker or the writer always fails to separate his ideas from what Mr. Lippman calls his "stereotypes," the presence of which makes the interpretation of events objectively difficult. For by the very act of interpretation the facts are mixed with opinions and presented with adjectives which represent no special opinions except those of the author. Therefore were it not for the fact that opinions on any topic are varied and numerous it would be an easy thing to fall a prey to one type of thought. Happily all the different opinions, resultant of the numerous "stereotypes," compete for our allegiance in a way that is suggestive of the particular wills of the *Contrat Social* of Rousseau. And like the *Contrat Social* again, from these competing opinions emerges a general opinion which may be regarded as near reality as possible.

But to reach this "general opinion" is not an easy matter. It requires of the individual an effort to understand or at least to know the main currents of opinion, and this effort is sadly lacking in the average person. It requires of him a technique of assimilation and rationalisation which—if he belongs to the average class, he may not venture to posses [illegible] ndividual is content to be the slave of one body [illegible] that he accepts certain "stereotypes" [illegible] is tempted not to assimilate [illegible] own, but to reject them as facts and events is largely determined by the ends such an interpretation may be required to serve, and the ends themselves depend upon one's conception of the " best " in a society. Take, for instance two conceptions, that of capitalism and socialism: it is clear that under the concept of capitalism the value of all facts and ideas will be judged in so far as they promote the well-being of a particular class of persons. The welfare of this class is equated with the welfare of humanity. The term " general good " under such an interpretation, therefore, signifies the welfare of this class and the resultant value judgments are distorted to suit particular ends.

On the other hand, it is equally clear that under the concept of socialism the value of all facts are judged under a totally different set of value judgments. The " general good " here means the good of the proletariat, which, according to this interpretation, embodies all humanity. It is interesting to note that the capitalists in this view do not come under the category of humanity. The disabilities, for instance, put upon the bourgeois and the capitalist class in Russia is too well known to need mention.

If it is true that objectivity requires the individual to note the negative of every positive, it is also true that he will only do so at the expense of consistency, at least in the world of hard reality. To reconcile capitalism with socialism without destroying the essential meaning of either is a significantly difficult adventure, and yet, this is precisely what President Roosevelt has attempted to achieve in America.

II

The task confronting Mr. Roosevelt is fraught with great difficulties and complexities. But his palliat[illegible] no less complex. They seek to compromise forces th[illegible]
they seek to achieve [illegible]
reaction. The Presider

Such is the herculean task the President has imposed upon himself. The partial success he has obtained, considering the forces against which he was working, is of no mean order, and justly constitutes an achievement he may be proud of. On the other hand it also explains his ultimate failure. The tragedy of the President is, perhaps, that he belongs to a period of transition. He was confronted with a particular situation and he had to make the best of it. His opportunism had to be immediate if it was to be successful and indeed the first few weeks of his administration, after he took office in March, 1933, did realise to some extent the prospects of a new order.

But it was clear that the durational stability of the "New Deal" was not sound. It was founded on opportunism, and opportunism is notorious in never regarding anything in terms of "long periods." The value and prestige of the President's policy therefore rested, like the forces with which he was co-operating, upon a continuous movement forward on the ladder of at least a semblance of success. A halt meant not stability but retrogression. His methods were so dubious that their justification had to be explained only in terms of the success achieved and not in any inherent value of their own. They depended, to be plain, upon increasing profits in terms of success and a cessation of such a process meant a return towards depression.

The President sought to improve the conditions of labour by appealing to the welfare of the capitalists. He endeavoured to make poor people rich by making the rich richer. He strove to bring prosperity to his country by destroying a great part of its real wealth.

On the surface at least such a remedy appears more the result of insanity than of rational judgment. It might with greater justice be applied to Laputa than to a normal place like the U.S.A. But on a deeper analysis the justification for the President's hesitant and contradictory policy seems to [illegible] a clear foundation, and what is revealed is less the failure of his efforts than the success he has achieved in spite of the limited tools with which he had to carry on his operations.

President's "New Deal" had to work in an uncongenial environment. It sought to minimise the baneful effects of cut-throat competition by co-operating with Big Business. It worked with and by means of capitalism in order to neutralise the ultimates of capitalism. Yet it could not have worked in any other way. The country was not ripe for socialism in March, 1933, or for the matter of that, it still is not. On the other hand, Capitalism as a system had demonstrably failed to correlate, in any satisfactory way, the communal welfare curve with the private profit curve. The position of equilibrium had been left far behind, and what stood in high relief was the excess of the positivity of the private profit curve over the negativity of the communal welfare curve.

But if Big Business had demonstrated its inability to work for the welfare of the whole, it by no means evinced any desire to abdicate from its hard won position of authority. And since it was one of the major social forces in the American Community, any plan, the impact of which was universal, had to take account of this factor. Hence the initial difficulty of President Roosevelt's New Deal. Even the moderate attempts on the part of the President to ameliorate the conditions of labour did not evince from the Big Business any encouraging response. Big Business chose to interpret in its own way section 7 (a) of the National Recovery Act in effect nullifying the advantages of collective bargaining acquired by the Trade Unions. It did this in defiance of the recovery Administration, which could do nothing but recognise the *fait accompli*, in fact if not in principle. General Johnson, for instance, admitted in a public statement on August 4, 1933, the right of the employers under section 7 (a) to form Company Unions.

Much as has the Section 7 (a) been subjected to interested interpretations, it shows clearly the extent to which there is a difference of interest between capital and labour. Big Business co-operated with the President to raise prices but it was not so enthusiastic in endeavouring to raise the general level of wages. Big Business resisted stubbornly the supplanting of craft unionism by industrial unionism, and although the decision of the National Labour Board in the Berkeley Woolen Mills Dispute, August, 1933, registered th triumph of the latter principle there was no guarantee that the employers would respect the decision, as they could always count upon the difference of opinion between the Judiciary and the Administration.[1] For instance in the election dispute at the Weirton Steel Plant, the Company refused to recognise the jurisdiction of the National Labour Board in the matter of elections. On the point being referred to the U.S A. District Court at Wilmington in May, 1934, the latter, instead of issuing an injunction to restrain the

---

[1] Economic Journal, December 1934, page 601.

Company from taking any part in the election of its employees' representatives, decided that the constitutionality of the N.R.A. itself was in doubt; therefore it could give no decision.[1] In another dispute between the Administration and the Harriman Hosiery Mills, the Department of Justice reported that the Company had violeted no " law or provision or code." [2] In face of such an attitude from the Judiciary, the Administration was hampered at every step by the selfish tactics of the employers, in effect making it very difficult for the provisions of Section 7 (a) to be applied in any effective sense for the benefit of the Trade Unions. The employers always asserting the counter-right to form their own Company Unions. Their refusal to recognise Trade Unions for the purpose of collective bargaining finally culminated in the Textile Strike of September, 1934.

III

These are ominous for the future. They challenge our equanimity. They defy our sense of stability. They upset violently our sense of established values and demand from us a reorientation of them in terms of the newer social forces. They make us doubt the validity of the present social order. We begin to suspect the eternal varity of the philosopher Pangloss' proposition: What is right [3] and ask ourselves if we cannot help in bringing about a change. We begin to feel that there is no halo of sanctity about the present social order except that of antiquity and that its foundations are as much the result of accidents of an accident as its consequences are the result of tenacity.

It is clear that our age is an age of transition. In a sense every age is an age of transition. But none has witnessed so great a need for the dissolution of established values than the present. The sooner we realise this fact in its full potentiality the better it is for us. We should try and get rid of the false notion that to make a deliberate attempt in interfering with our environment is to sin against the rationality of nature. We should not be inclined to admit the existence of disease to be rational because Hegel said: "was ist

[1] *ibid.*
[2] *ibid.*
[3] Voltaire : *Candide.*

vernünftig das ist wirklich, und was wirklich ist das ist vernünftig." If the force of tradition impels us to regard the present with veneration, history at least teaches us to cast away the shackles of the present and look more towards the future.

The fermentation of social forces is world-wide and the U.S.A. is but an item in it; though an item that may, if fate permits, be destined to achieve the position of a pioneer. Ideas like, for instance, those of the late Thorstein Veblen, Howard Scott, Frederich Ackermann, Basset Jones, and others belonging to the "Technical Alliance" are not regarded by the average orthodox and conservative thinker as normal. Yet they are distinctly futuristic in outlook. The "Energy Survey of North America," conducted by professor Rautenstrauch and Howard Scott in 1932, does indeed represent a novel approach to social problems. It indicates the rebellion of the American mind from the traditional ways of thought. It reveals specially the role that technology may play in sociological research.

But the immediate problem of the U.S.A. is so to widen the sphere of its constitutional system as to be able successfully to meet new demands. The Constitution was made for the XVIII century. It has to expand more and more if it is to function successfully in the XX century. A certain amount of necessary expansion has of course taken place by the interpretation of the Supreme Court. Its decision in Gibbon v. Ogdon (1824), for instance, showed the extent to which the Congress could assume powers under the Commerce Clause. On the other hand the Supreme Court has also proved an obstacle to reform. Its judgement in Hammer v. Dagenhart (1911) lacked completely any regard for humanitarian principles. And since the decision was obtained by a majority of five to four it revealed clearly the dubiousness of giving political powers to a number of lawyers. The Judiciary has, as a rule, been an obstacle to progressive legislation. It has refused the Congress the right to legislate for the benefit of female labour.[1] It has ended in the Schechter case, by invalidating the N. R. A. itself. This registers the culmination of its antagonism with the forces of progress. It is a challenge to all that gives meaning to the "Roosevelt Revolution." It strives to put the clock of progress back to the pre-Rooseveltian regime. By doing this it has surely invited trouble. Two things at least are clear from this: (*a*) It has definitely ranged itself against the process of change even at the risk of its own safety ; and (*b*) the American Constitution does not provide a body of framework adequate to the needs of modern society.

---

[1] Adkins V. The Children's Hospital (1923), 261, U. S., 525.

IV

The implications are clear. It is first of all obvious that the Constitution must change if it is to live, and it can only thus change by periodic amendment, failing this the forces of change are bound to mobilise for a revolution and revolution is not a cheap process. Its prevention can only be affected in two ways: (*a*) by conceding to the demands of the ever-changing environment, say by means of constitutional amendments, or, in some cases, by a liberal judicial interpretation ; and (*b*) perpetuating the existing evils and mobilising all the powers of the state for a drastic suppression of any signs of discontent. The former is more permanent and stable when realised but the latter is easier to achieve, though it needs ever greater powers of coercion to keep it intact. Ultimately, however, when the rate of increase of coercion becomes negative or even constant instead of positively inclined, the onset of a revolution may not be resisted any longer, and its advent is marked by all kinds of excesses, in proportion to the momentum gained by suppression.

But experience, with one exception,[1] argues in favour of fascism as the normal sequel to a transitional crisis [2] since, in spite of its ultimate failure being guaranteed, it takes much less initial effort to gain recognition than the alternative of a progressive change. It, moreover, does not offend against the susceptibilities of the conservative, who is thus assured of an alliance between the state's coercive power and the *status quo*. Experience of the last few years clearly justifies this hypothesis. It shows at least that improving the health of the state by fascism is like improving the health of the individual through drink. And just as it is difficult for the individual to embark upon total abstinence, though good for him in the long run, so is it difficult for the state to embark upon a policy of social regeneration in the reorientated perspective of a newer environment.

---

[1] Soviet Russia.

[2] Prof. H. J. Laski : The State in Theory and Practice, Chapter 4.

V

What would be the future of America in the light of this argument? It is clear that Roosevelt's attempt had been to achieve social regeneration without resort to violent means. But his failure was certain since his very assumptions led to contradictions. He wanted the co-operation of reactionary elements to achieve radical reforms. He applied the strategy of fascism to achieve socialism. It may be that the contradictions involved in his policy have on the one hand increased the ambition of subtle but unscrupulous men like Senator Huey Long and on the other, have led to the demented utterances of men like Father Coughlin. The recent refusal of the Senate to endorse the President's adhesion to the World Court was mainly the achievement of Father Coughlin's and Will Roger's radio speeches and the indefatigable campaign of the Hearst Newspapers which led to "a last minute avalanche of at least 40,000 anti-Court telegrams." [1]

The failure of President Roosevelt may, therefore, mean either the emergence of fascism or a social revolution. Of these the latter seems much less likely, because the Americans are not sufficiently class conscious to achieve a revolution on these lines. The American Federation of Labour, for instance, represents more the bourgeois section of labour than labour in general. The I. W. W. is of course more radical, but it is too incoherently organised to be able to command respectable attention.

The onset of fascism in America can perhaps be prevented if the President succeeds in securing an amendment to the Constitution restricting the powers of the Supreme Court to nullify the legislative programme of the Administration. To achieve this a favourable public opinion is necessary. Perhaps the President's recent legislative programme may be a step in this direction. The Wagner Labour Disputes Bill, empowering the President to intervene effectively in strikes ; the Social Security Bill ; The Public Utility Holding Company Bill ; and the so-called Guffey Bill setting up a miniature N. R. A. for the Coal Industry, are all amenable to the judicial veto. The President may be deliberately challenging the Supreme Court to veto them in order to accumulate a mass of evidence for the public against the narrowness of the Constitution and the necessity for its amendment. Such a situation may not be different from that which confronted the House of there are now extant only 1 branch of the Rig Veda, 4 branches of the Krishna Yajurveda, 1 branch of the Shukla Yajurveda, 3 branches of the Samaveda and 2 branches of the Atharvaveda. The extant texts are thus only a very small fraction of the originals. Reference to the numerous branches of the Vedas (now no longer existing) is also found in the Vishnupurana (part 3, chapters 4 to 6). There are also other proofs of the disappearance of some portions of the Vedas. In the 3rd chapter of the Adiparva of the Mahabharata it is stated that when Upamanyu became blind he prayed to the twin gods Aswini with some Vedic hymns. The Vedic hymns uttered by Upamanyu are quoted in the Mahabharata. But these hymns cannot be found in any of the texts of the Vedas. It is clear that Vedic texts containing Upamanyu's hymns have now been lost. Many other texts have been similarly lost. It is quite possible that those doctrines of the Upanishads which are not found in the extant texts of the Vedic Samhitas might have existed in the texts which have disappeared. We cannot therefore accept as flawless the arguments frequently used by Western scholars that because a particular doctrine of the Upanishads is not found in the extant texts of the Vedic Samhitas therefore it was of later origin.

---

[1] Raymond Buell : quoted from H. G. Well's *The New America : The New World.*

From what has been said above it follows that even if no reference to the doctrine of monotheism is to be found in the Rig Veda Samhita it cannot be concluded that the doctrine of monotheism which is found in the Upanishads is of later origin, for it is quite possible that there might have been references to this doctrine in the portions of the Samhitas which have been lost. But it is not a fact that there is no reference to the doctrine of monotheism in the Rig Veda Samhita. As will appear from the passages quoted below there is ample reference to this doctrine in the Rig Veda Samhita. There is therefore absolutely no justification for characterising as polytheistic the doctrine of the Vedas. We now proceed to quote some passages from the Rig Veda Samhita in which there is clear reference to monotheism.

एकं सद्द विप्रा बहुधा वदन्ति
इन्द्र' यमं मातरिश्वानमाहु:

(Rig Veda Samhita 2-3-32).

" Brahmins call that One Being by various names, *e.g.*, Agni, Yama, Matarishwa."

In the Hiranyagarbha Sookta (Rigveda Samhita, 10-121) the following lines point undoubtedly to monotheism:—

उपासते प्रशिषं यस्य देवा:

" Whose commands are obeyed by the gods."

महित्वा एक इद्द राजा जगतो बभूव

" By His Majesty, He was the one King of the universe."

यो देवेष्वधि एकदेव आसीत्

" Who was the God of all the gods."

The following lines are quoted from the Purusha Sookta of the Rig-veda Samhita (10-90).

पुरुष एव इदं सर्वं यद्भूतं यच्च भव्यं

"All this (that exists), all that existed, all that will exist is the Purusha (God)."

चन्द्रमा मनसो जातश्चचो: सूर्योऽजायत

मुखादिन्द्रश्चाग्निश्च प्राणाद्द वायुरजायत

"The Moon was born from his mind, the Sun from his eyes
Indra and Agni from his mouth, Vayu from his Prana."

(Here the Moon and the Sun refer to the gods, as they are mentioned in the same category with Indra.)

Again in the Rigveda Samhita 10-82 occurs the following:—

यो न: पिताजनिता यो विधाता

धामानि वेद भुवनानि विश्वा

यो देवानां नामधा एक एव

"Who is our father and our creator, Who knows all the worlds, Who bears the names of various gods but is ONE."

In the नासदीयसूक्त (Rig Veda Samhita 10-129) occur the following passages:—

आनीदवातं स्वधया तदेकं

तस्माद्धान्यन्न परं किंचनास

"(At the time of the Pralaya) nothing existed except that ultimate principle (Brahma), who existed as one with Swadha (Maya)."

अर्वाग् देवा अस्य विसर्जनेनाथा

"Gods were created after the creation of the material world."

The above passages make it clear that as regards the Supreme God and the minor gods the doctrine of the Rig Veda Samhita is the same as that of Upanishads. The doctrines of the Rigveda Samhita cannot therefore be called polytheism. It is undoubtedly monotheism.

It is not that Dr. Winternitz has not noticed any of the passages quoted. Thus he writes (on page 100), "In most of the philosophical hymns of Rigveda the idea certainly comes to the foreground of a creator who is named now Prajapati, now Brahmanaspati, or Bṛhaspati, but who is still always thought of as a personal god."

"...... already in the hymns the great idea of Universal Unity is foreshadowed, the idea that everything which we see in Nature and which the popular belief designates as gods, in reality is only the emanation of the One and Only One." He then gives the English translation of the first verse quoted by us above. But he does not make it clear how the doctrine of the Vedas is still regarded by him as polytheism. It seems that the learned doctor in upholding his theory that the Vedas are polytheistic has not only rejected the entire Upanishads but also those portions of the Samhitas in which there is clear indication of monotheism. It is needless to say that the method adopted by him is not the proper method.

Again Dr. Winternitz says (pages 78 and 79) : " Of the dismal belief in the transmigration of the soul .... there is in Rig Veda as yet no trace to be found." This however is not correct. In the Mantras

अयं पन्था अनुवित्तः पुराणः and अवर्त्त्या शुन आन्त्राणि पेचे

(Rigveda Samhita 3-5) the Risi Bamadeva speaks of his previous birth in which at the time of famine he cooked the entrails of the dog. Dr. Winternitz has himself (on page 97) given the English translation of a verse in Rigveda (X, 16, 1-6) which contains the following words addressed to the departed spirit at the time of cremation:—

" ...... go as thy merit is, to earth or heaven,
Go, if it be thy lot unto the waters;
Go, make thine home in plants with all thy members."

This passage also refers to the doctrine of rebirth as it is meant that the soul will be born again on the earth or as an aquatic animal or as a plant, according to his "merit."

Dr. Winternitz has started a curious theory that the philosophical doctrines of the Upanishads owed their origin to those persons of the Vedic times who did not believe in the various gods mentioned in the Vedas nor in efficacy of sacrifices offered to the gods. He says, " We have seen how in some hymns of the Rigveda doubts and scruples already arose concerning the popular belief in gods and the priestly cult. These sceptics and thinkers, these first philosophers of ancient India, certainly did not remain isolated" (pages 226, 227). It will appear however from the passages of the Rigveda Samhita quoted above that in those passages in which there are references to the Supreme God, the existence of minor gods is not denied. In the Upanishads also the existence of minor gods is nowhere denied, nor is the efficacy of sacrifices in attaining heaven ever questioned. The point of view of the Upanishads is that the minor gods do exist and that Vedic sacrifices do ensure a transition to heaven after death, but as the gods are destroyed at the time of Pralaya (universal destruction) and as residence in heaven as a result of performing sacrifices, is for a limited period only (after which the cycle of birth and death begins again), it is not wise to hanker after heaven by performing sacrifices, and one should try to attain Brahma so as to secure everlasting happiness. The following passages in the Upanishads are often quoted in treatises on Vedanta as the starting point in the quest of knowledge of Brahma:

तद्यथा इह कर्मजितो लोकः क्षीयते
एवमेवामुत्र पुण्यजितो लोकः क्षीयते

(Chandogyopanishad).

" Just as the fruit of action in this world gradually wears out, so also the heaven attained by merit (*i.e.*, sacrifices, etc.) wears out."

परीक्ष्य लोकान् कर्मजितान् ब्राह्मणो निर्वेदमायान्-
नास्त्यकृतः कृतेन तद्विज्ञानार्थं स गुरुमेवाभिगच्छेत्

(Muṇḍakopaṇishad).

"Considering the (nature of the) afterworlds which can be attained by action (*i.e.*, sacrifices, etc.) the Brahmana should have no attachment for them, knowing that the infinite cannot be attained by means of action. To know that (the infinite Brahman) he should approach a worthy preceptor."

Moreover when a person is in quest of Brahman he is not to give up sacrifices. On the other hand, it is necessary that, along with contemplation of Brahma, he should also perform the sacrificial ceremonies which are prescribed for him. But he should do so without any desire for attaining heaven as a result of those sacrifices. Performance of the ceremonies is necessary in order to purify the mind. As a result of sins performed in this birth or in previous births, the mind of man is generally impure. So long as the impurities are not removed, lessons on Brahma which the pupil receives from his preceptor will not be effective. It is therefore necessary to perform sacrifices so that the mind may be purified and made fit for the reception of the knowledge of Brahman. That this is the doctrine of the Upanishads is clear from the aphorism सर्वापेक्षा हि यज्ञादिश्रुतेरश्ववद्
(Brahmasutra 3, 4, 26).

The Isa-Upanishad clearly lays down: कुर्व्वन्नेवेह कर्माणि जिजीविषेच्छतं समाः "One should perform the prescribed acts and wish to live a hundred years." Dr. Winternitz is therefore wrong when he says that according to the Upanishads "in order to attain the highest object (Brahman) it is necessary to give up all works, good as well as bad" (page 260). It should be remembered that after Janaka performed the sacrifice there was philosophical discussion among the priests and other Brahmanas, and that in the Kathopanishad, Yama at first taught Nachiketa how to perform the sacrifice and then imparted to him the knowledge of Brahma.

On pages 97 to 99 Dr. Winternitz mentions what he thinks to be instances of "doubts as to the power even as to the existence of gods," in order to support his theory that persons who entertained such doubts began the speculations which are to be found in the Upanishads. But there is nothing in the hymns II, 12 and VIII, 100 of the Rigveda (which are referred to by him in this connection) to indicate that the persons who doubted the existence of gods had anything to do with the speculations in the Upanishads. The sceptics are no doubt mentioned. But it is not stated (nor even hinted) that these sceptics were philosophers. On the other hand it is stated definitely that they were wrong. Dr. Winternitz is also unsuccessful in his attempt to interpret the Hiranyagarbha Sookta (Rigveda X, 121) as indicating "scruples concerning the plurality of the gods in general" and "doubts......whether indeed there is any merit in sacrificing to the gods." He says in this connection "Thus in the hymn (Rigveda X, 121) in which the Prajapati is praised as the creator and preserver of the world and as the one god, and in which the refrain recurs in verse after verse 'Which god shall we honour by means of sacrifice ?' there lies hidden the thought that in reality there is nothing in all the plurality of the gods and that alone the one and only god, the Creator Prajapati, deserves honour." We have already quoted two lines from this Hiranyagarbha Sookta in which it is stated that the other gods obey the commands of Prajapati and that the other gods were created (by Prajapati) after the creation of matter. Though the existence of the other gods is thus clearly mentioned it is strange that Dr. Winternitz concludes that according to this hymn Prajapati is "the one and only god" and that other gods do not exist. The refrain in the successive verses कस्मै देवाय हविषा विधेम has been translated by him as "which god shall we honour by means of sacrifice?" Sayanacharyya has however interpreted the line as meaning "We shall offer sacrifice to the god Prajapati'. There can be no doubt that Sayana's interpretation fits in with the context better. Then again, Dr. Winternitz fancies that "scepticism finds its most forceful expression in the profound poem of the Creation (Rigveda X, 129)." This is the famous नासदीयसूक्त. There is however not the least trace of scepticism in this hymn. The substance of this hymn is that at the time of प्रलय (universal destruction) there was nothing except God, and that the universe (including the minor gods) was created afterwards. There is no mention whatever that the many gods are a myth or that sacrifices should not be made to them. The idea that the gods do not exist at the time of प्रलय must not be mistaken as a doctrine of scepticism. It may be mentioned that the learned doctor's interpretation of the word "Kama" occurring in this hymn as meaning "sexual desire" is grotesque. This hymn describes the world as non-existent, God alone existing, and even He remaining "without breath" (अवातं) and therefore without body. In that state, to say that God had "sexual desire" is absurd. The word has been interpreted by Sayana as "desire of creation" (सिसृक्षा). This is the natural, and the only possible interpretation. Schopenhauer and Deussen have taken practically the same interpretation, as they hold that the word काम means "will". Dr. Winternitz does dot give eny reason why he has rejected the interpretation given by Sayanacharyya and accepted by Schopenhauer and Deussen. On the other hand he twists another passage of the hymn to mean that in this *Kama* "the wise searching in their hearts have by meditation discovered the connection between the existing and the non-existing." We wonder what searching of hearts by wise people is necessary to discover that sexual desire is the cause of progeny. Sayanachayya has explained the passage to mean that the wise "searching in their hearts" have realised that even in the "nothing" which existed at Pralaya there lay the seeds of future creation in the form of the संस्कार which is the result of the action of all beings in the previous creation. It may be added that throughout the rest of the hymn there is not the least reference to any sexual desire or act.

From what has been said above it will be clear that in the following passage (on page 231) Dr. Winternitz has given full play to his fancy and that there is not the least support in the Vedas for the theories enunciated herein:

> "When the Brahmanas were pursuing their barren sacrificial science, other circles were already engaged upon those highest questions which were at last treated so admirably in the Upanishads. From these circles, which originally were not connected with the priestly caste (*sic*) proceeded the forest hermits and wandering ascetics, who not only renounced the world and its pleasures but also kept aloof from the sacrifices and ceremonies of the Brahmanas. Different sects, more or less opposed to Brahmanism, were soon formed from these same circles, among which sects the Buddhists attained to such great fame."

As explained above the Brahmins who performed sacrifices were responsible for the Upanishads to a large extent. Again the Upanishads are full of references to Brahma. But in the teachings of Buddha, omission of any reference to Brahma is noticeable. It cannot therefore be said that Buddhism was a development of the doctrines in the Upanishads.

Dr. Winternitz has made capital of the fact that the Brahmana-portion of the Vedas does not contain much moral teaching. "The Brahmanas are a splendid proof of the fact that an enormous amount of religion can be connected with infinitely little morality" (pages 207-208). It is strange that the Doctor forgets that the Brahmanas were intended to lay down the detailed rules and regulations for the performance of the sacrifices. As he himself says (page 188), "It is a collection of the utterances and discussions of the priests upon the science of sacrifice ," How the altar is to be constructed, what sorts of vessels are necessary, how the *havih* is to be offered—these details are given in the Brahmanas. Although many of the Upanishads are included in the Brahmanas Dr. Winternitz has treated the Upanishads separately from the other portions of the Brahmanas. To complain of the absence of precepts of morality in the Brahmanas would be as just as a complaint that a treatise on Physics or Chemistry is silent on questions of morality.

As stated above the Upanishads must be regarded as a whole. The Mantras, the Brahmanas, the Upanishads all form parts of an integral whole. It is an absolutely unfair criticism to consider separately those portions of the Brahmanas which relate to details about sacrificial ceremonies and condemn these portions because they do not contain moral teachings.

Dr. Winternitz has tried to show that some laws of Manu are against the Vedas. It is well known that Manu (and also other law-givers) have stated again and again that the laws of Manu are based on the Vedas. If Dr. Winternitz's contention is correct the writer of the Manusmriti (and also other law-givers) would be guilty of serious dishonesty. Let us now examine the charge of the Doctor. He blames Manu for prohibiting women from performing Vedic sacrifices. Now Dr. Winternitz himself has quoted from the Brahmanas where it is stated that the performance of a Vedic sacrifice is so very difficult that "if any (persons) venture into them without any knowledge, then hunger or thirst, evil-doers and fiends harass them even as fiends would harass foolish men wandering in a wild forest" (page 198). In order to learn the intricacies of Vedic sacrifices one has to undergo a prolonged course of special training—both theoretical and practical. Women do not receive such training and it is therefore only proper that those who really believed in the Vedas should prohibit women from performing sacrifices. It will be observed that along with women Manu prohibits persons who are not well-versed in the Vedas. In order to prove that Manu's law is against the Vedas Dr. Winternitz says that in the Rigveda it is found that "husband and wife together perform sacred ceremonies" and that married couple press the Soma and offer adoration to the gods. It is obvious that Manu's prohibition does not extend to these cases. His prohibition is against women undertaking the responsibility of performing a sacrifice (*i. e.*, officiating as the priest), because it requires specialized knowledge without which it would be a hazardous venture. Where the Vedas require that women should take a specified part in the performance of a sacrifice they will certainly take that part under the direction of the priest, and they do so even now. It could never have been the intention of Manu that such participation should be prohibited. In order to prevent the possibility of any misapprehension Manu has declared at the very outset that if any of his directions appear to go against the Vedas it should be at once discarded in favour of the Vedic injunction.

Again Dr. Winternitz says, "in the hymns of the Rigveda women could without restriction—at feasts, dances and such like show themselves publicly" meaning that in this matter restriction was subsequently placed on women. But this is not so. In the Ramayaṅa we find the same rule of conduct laid down for women.

व्यसनेषु न कृच्छ्रेषु न युद्धेषु स्वयंवरे ।
न क्रतौ न विवाहे वा दर्शनं दूष्यते स्त्रियः ।

"There is no fault if women are seen at times of danger, or poverty, or war or Swayamvara, or sacrifice or marriage ceremony."
(Yuddha Kanda, 114 chapter.)

The present custom among the Hindus is also the same.

Dr. Winternitz gives some accounts of creation from the Brahmanas and says that the accounts "cannot be made to harmonize with each other," (page 222). In the first account given by him it is stated that Prajapati created Agni, then plants, then the Sun and the Vayu. In the second account it is stated that he created birds, snakes, mammals. In the third account it is stated that he created man out of his mind, the horse out of his eye, the cow out of this breath, the sheep out of his ear, the goat out of his voice. Then (he says) there are other portions in the Brahmanas where it is said that Prajapati was himself created and creation began with water or nothing or with Brahman. These accounts are considered by the Doctor as mutually contradictory. But we fail to see wherein lies the mutual contradiction. What he considers to be different accounts are merely different portions of the entire process of creation. They can surely be p[illegible]d together to form the following complete account. At first there w[illegible]y Brahma. The world was "nothing" (because it was not diversi[illegible]y name and form). Then was created water and then Prajapati. Prajapati created the god Agni, plants, the god Sun, the god Vayu, birds, snakes, mammals, *e.g.*, the man, horse, cow, sheep, goat. This is the entire account and there is no self-contradiction in it.

Similarly the learned Doctor is mistaken when he says, "A system of philosophy of the Upanishads can only be said to exist in a very restricted sense," meaning that different portions of the Upanishads are mutually contradictory. He overlooks the method of reconciling apparent contradictions between different portions of the Vedas laid down by Jaimini in his Poorva Meemangsa Philosophy. He also forgets that all apparent contradictions between different passages of the Upanishads have been beautifully reconciled by Badarayana in his Brahmasootras which form an admirable basis for *the* system of the Upanishads. The Doctor has not mentioned any instances of mutual contradiction between different portions of the Upanishads.

The Doctor says (p. 66) "there is not yet found in the hymns (of the Rigveda) that caste division" which (according to him) was introduced later. He adds however that in a hymn of the Rigveda (*viz.*, the Purushasookta) the four castes are mentioned. He also mentions that in the Rigveda it is seen that "at the Kings's side there stood a house-priest (Purohita) who offered the sacrifices for him," a fact significant of the existence of the priestly caste (the Brahmins). Another relevant fact (not mentioned by the Doctor) is that there are several references to the Brahmins in the Rigveda (*e.g.*, 5-7-4, 1-10-2, 8-78-3, 8-3-26, 8-25-3).

The mention of Brahmins implies the existence of the caste system. The derivation of the word Brahmana implies a hereditary caste (अपत्यार्थं षा). In the face of all these facts it would be difficult to maintain that the caste system did not exist at the time of the Rigveda. Another significant fact is that there is clear mention of the caste system in the Atharvaveda whose antiquity is established by the fact that its language and metre "are in essentials the same as those of the Rigveda" as observed by the learned Doctor himself. It is quite natural that the subject matter of the Rigveda being adoration of various gods there are fewer occasions for reference to the four castes in the Rigveda than in the Atharvaveda which deals with topics of a diversified nature.

Dr. Winternitz says, "it proved fatal for the development of Indian philosophy that the Upanishads should have been pronounced to be revelations and sacred texts." But in spite of the fact that the Upanishads were considered to be revelations, various philosophers like Kumarila Bhatta and Sankaracharyya appeared in India, and different schools of philosophy were preached by Sankara, Ramanuja, Madhwa and many other philosophers. Saints like Chaitanya and Ramkrishna Paramahansa testified to the truth of the philosophy of the Upanishads. It is because of the belief in revelation that the "deeply ethical" doctrine of Karma entered greatly into the daily life and religious practices of the masses in India. It therefore seems to us that the fact that the Upanishads were regarded as revelations has proved to be a blessing to the Hindus and not a curse.

We have remarked before how the interpretation of the नासदीयसूक्त by the learned Doctor is unsatisfactory. His explanation of the sentence तत् त्वम् असि is equally so. He interprets it thus: "The world exists only in so far as thou thyself art conscious of it." Now this interpretation is absolutely wrong. तत् means the universal soul (Brahman) and त्वम् means the individual soul (Jeeva). According to Samkara this sentence establishes the absolute identity between the two. According to Ramanuja it means that the individual soul is like the body and the universal soul is like its spirit. In any case there can be no doubt that the proposition refers to the intimate connection between the individval soul and the universal soul. The doctrine that the world exists only in so far as thou art conscious of it is absurd and cannot bear the slightest scrutiny. What I am conscious of now may be absolutely different from what I am conscious of after a few days or years, and is different from what other people are conscious of. So the doctrine would mean that different worlds exist for different people and also for the same person at different times. "What I am conscious of" is a part of my *mind* (मनः) which is quite different from the soul which is the subject of the sentence. If the learned Doctor had referred to an elementary treatise on Vedanta philosophy (*e.g.*, the वेदान्तसार) he could not have made such a hopelessly incorrect statement. With so little attempt to understand the true spirit of the Vedas his characterization of some passages of the Vedas as "foolish and nonsensical" (page 149) and as the creation of lunatics (page 182) must be considered to be the result of arrogance and ignorance. His enunciation of the fundamental doctrine of the Upanishads "The Universe is Brahman but the Brahman is the Atman" is also incorrect. The universe is visible, but Brahman is invisible. The universe does not last for ever, but Brahman does. Brahman is much larger than the universe which is created out of Brahman and merges into Brahman. Brahman is both immanent and transcendent. It is a mistake to identify Brahman with the universe, as the Doctor has done.

The entire sentence is सर्वं खल्विदं ब्रह्म तज्जलान् "All this is Brahma, because it comes into being from Brahma, exists in Brahma, and merges into Brahma." Brahma is the cause, the Universe is the effect. The cause and the effect are essentially the same. Hence the universe is nothing but Brahma. The words सर्वं खल्विदं ब्रह्म without the words तज्जलान् represents only a half-truth. Not being able to appreciate the true spirit of the Sanskrit literature which is permeated by the spirit of the Upanishads he calls it "effeminate, ascetic and pessimistic" (page 68). He has frequently referred with undisguised contempt to "the priestly class" which he believes to be the author of some portions of the Vedas. His contempt for them is evidently due to his prejudice. He also calls them "conjurors who pose as philosophers" (p. 149). The spirit of contempt and arrogance revealed by him is largely responsible for the fact that he has totally failed to enter into the spirit of the Vedas and the Upanishads. It is no wonder that he has tried to belittle the high praise bestowed on the Upanishads by Schopenhauer and Deussen.

Dr. Winternitz has dedicated the English translation of his book to Dr. Tagore and, as stated before, it has been published by the Calcutta University. These circumstances make it the more regrettable that the book should contain so many mistakes on important matters and should reveal a spirit of contempt and arrogance.

Miscellany

[*Co-operatives in Great Britain (Benoy Kumar Sarkar)—The State Bank of Morocco through Indian eyes (Benoy Kumar Sarkar)—Transcending the Limitations of Territories (Benoy Kumar Sarkar).*]

CO-OPERATIVES IN GREAT BRITAIN.

As elsewhere, the increase of membership of distributive co-operative societies in England and Wales also is dependent upon agricultural areas of the country. The question has arisen as to how to organise the administration of co-operative trade in rural areas where, as elsewhere again, travelling facilities are poor.

The *Producer* has published an interesting article which shows how an industrial co-operative society, that of Ipswich, is tackling the problem.

The Society had first to prepare the way by good propaganda work. The best results have been achieved by the organization of frequent meetings throughout the country area, and speakers chosen for their ability to "put over" the essentials of co-operation in an extremely simple manner have aroused considerable interest.

But the main problems to be solved arose from the distance to be covered and from the remoteness of contact. For a long time it has remained impossible to give a complete service through a system of branches, many country members living two or three miles away from a decent road.

The Ipswich Society, which contains in its area about 160 small towns, villages or hamlets, learned and is learning by experience, and has therefore a contribution to make to the common fund of knowledge on the subject such as may be drawn upon by India also. Actually, the Ipswich Society has a number of country branches. These branches give a comprehensive grocery service to a number of surrounding villages. Each branch has a delivery van under its control and can thus cover considerable distances.

But much of the area lies outside the range of branches. Places which are not easily reached from a branch are served by a number of travelling vans operating from the centre. There are six vans attached to the country department, and the average trade per van is nearly £100 per week. The van-drivers are trained grocers, carefully selected from the Society's staff for this specialised service. This is a most essential point, for the vanman is the members' sole point of contact with the Society. In some cases, he not only performs the composite duties of vanman, grocer, draper and passbook clerk, but he even buys eggs and butter from the members for the Society.

Until recently, the Society operated its vans as travelling shops. Now, however, they are restricted to order trade, on the grounds that the range of stock which travelling shops have to carry is too wide to justify the results obtained. Nevertheless, a careful time schedule is maintained, and the central country department can say with reasonable accuracy where a van will be at a certain time.

In general, a two days' service is given, although in some cases it is less frequent.

A grocery service dealing with fairly standardised articles can quite well be operated from the centre. Dry goods, on the other hand, demand operation at the centre.

This is becoming increasingly true as means of communication improve. The development of bus services has increased the range of demand of country people, and has at the same time made this trade a more competitive one.

The Society pays the bus fares of country members shopping in the central dry goods department up to a limit of three pence for every five shillings' worth of purchases, a payment which is to some extent counterbalanced by the size of the average perchase.

The country trade is of course directly and indirectly subsidized by the town members. At one time, this was a subject of complaint by the townspeople, but now-a-days such complaints are becoming less frequent. "Undoubtedly country trade is expensive. No society should enter this trade with any idea of making a surplus. If our ideals mean anything, every person in the country is entitled to the benefits of co-operative membership. It is from that angle,—the angle of service—that we must approach the problems of the countryside."

This British ideal and achievement should appear as yet to be too high for the ambition of the Indian co-operative system. But we understand at once how far the " industrial adults " of the world have advanced in the epoch of the " second industrial revolution " and " neo-capitalism."

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

THE STATE BANK OF MOROCCO THROUGH INDIAN EYES.

The functions of Rererve Banks *vis à vis* agricultural credit are nowhere more prominent than in France where the institution of *Credit Agricole* functions in direct association with the *Banque de France*, as has often been pointed out by the present writer. To the Indian students of central banking and agricultural finance, of course, no credit institutions can be more valuable than the central banks of regions that are mainly agricultural. It is interesting, therefore, that the State Bank of Morocco should appear to be doubly useful to us, first. because it has developed an experience of regions that are more or similar to India in economic morphology, and secondly because it is run according to the traditional French ideas of *etatisme* in relation to the cultivators, rural credit and co-operation. (*Vide* Sarkar: *Applied Economics*, Vol. I.)

The State Bank of Morocco was founded more than a quarter of a century ago. The Bank has played a vital part in the development of Morocco, and if the financial situation of the Moorish Empire has gradually improved, this is largely due to the State Bank. As is well-known, it is the consortium of French banking institutions that helped forward the rise of the Moroccan State Bank.

The Report submitted on May 27, 1935, to the ordinary shareholders' meeting shows that in spite of the unfavourable circumstances, the activities of the Bank remained satisfactory in 1934, a year marked by an increase in the agricultural production of the French zone in Morocco. This is very important, for like Bengal and other parts of India Morocco is chiefly an agricultural country, a great part of whose produce is sold abroad. Unfortunately, as we know too painfully in India, it is very difficult, now-a-days to dispose of such produce at remunerative prices. France, having become an exporter of wheat, has ceased buying Moroccan wheat. Less soft and hard wheat had been sown in that country and yet the output of those cereals was more abundant. The output of barley was fifty per cent. higher than that of the previous year. It is to be expected that when the 1935 crop of wheat is put up for sale, there will still be 700,000 quintals of the 1934 crop remaining unsold. Similarly the grape crop of 1934 exceeded the local consumption by 140,000 hectolitres, which led the Moorish Government to forbid any further planting of vines until September 1st, 1936. We give these few particulars as an indication of the economic activity of the country, but it also behoves us to cast a glance on the other items of production—coal, mines, phosphates, cement, etc.

Let us now examine the balance sheet. The State Bank paid to the Cherifian Government in 1934 dues amounting to 8,650,529 fr. The situation has been kept thoroughly sound: throughout the year the bank-note circulation was lower than it was during the previous twelve months It amounted to no more than 565,058,000 francs on December 31, 1934, a decline of 14,814,535 francs as compared with the figure recorded in the balance sheet for 1933.

The net profit for the financial year 1934 aggregated 19,264,976 francs, after paying off all outstanding debts for the twelve months. After carrying over 639,723 fr. the credit balance on account of profit and loss worked out at 19,904,700 fr. The shareholders were consequently paid dividend of 160 francs, equal to last year's. The statutory reserve was kept at a figure of 11,550,000 francs and the supplementary reserve raised to 19,750,000 francs, while a further sum of 425,202 fr was again carried over.

As in the past, the State Bank has continued to play a beneficent part, notably by its advances of every description to the agricultural fund, aggregating 59, 400,000 fr. The Bank's advance to the *Caisse federale de la Mutualite et de la Cooperation agricole* (Federal Bank for Agricultural Co-operation) amounted to 27.000,000 fr. The advance to the *Caisse du ble* (Wheat Bank) amounted to 7,500.000 fr. (this has been paid off recently). The advance to the *Caisse des Prets Immobiliers* (Bank for Real Estate Loans) for the fund of medium term loans, amounted to 14 000,000 francs. The non-interest bearing advances extended to the *Caisses des Credits Agricoles Mutuels* (Banks of Mutual Agricultural Credit) aggregated 1,666,666 fr.; the bills discounted in favour of the said *Caisses* amounted on December 31 last to 9,234,000 francs. The principle embodied in these practices has been advocated by the present writer in *Indian Currency and Reserve Bank Problems* (second edition, 1934).

There is no need to dwell any further on the matter to bring out the very considerable assistance lent by the State Bank to Moorish agriculture. The Bank has insisted upon the financial setting in order of the *Caisses de Credits agricoles mutuels* (Banks of Mutual Agricultural Credit). This was carried out to a certain extent. It consisted in the State remitting debts owing to it from the *Caisses* to an amount of over 23,000,000 francs. The Bank extended to them, after paying off the whole of their discount advances for the finanical year 1933-1934. further credits for the financial year 1934-1935, receiving as security the joint guarantee of the *Caisse federale* and a State assignment on its outstanding credit amounts.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

TRANSCENDING THE LIMITATIONS OF TERRITORIES

A new societal science which derives its sustenance as much from anthropogeography and technocracy as from demography, economics, politics and current history has been steadily growing up in Germany for the last half a generation or so. It is called *Geopolitik* (Geopolitics) and is to be credited to the scientific investigations of the student of races and race-development, Karl Haushofer. His monthly journal *Zeitschrift fuer Geopolitik* has been functioning as the regular organ of geopolitical ideas and has succeeded in drawing to itself a large number of scholars interested in the remaking of peoples and race-reconstruction *

A symposium on the methods and problems of this new science in which the economist is as much interested as the ethnologist is available in *Raumueberwindende Maechte* (Space-transcending Powers) edited by Houshofer (Teubner, Leipzig, 1934). This is the third volume of a series of works entitled *Macht und Erde* (Power and the Earth) under Haushofer's charge which has been initiated by the Teubner Co The first volume is a new edition of Kjellen's *The Great Powers before and after the World War.* The second volume deals with men and things that lie *Jenseits der Grossmaechte* (on the other side of Great Powers).

The third or the present volume deals with those forces that go to overpower or conquer space. In this publication the Earth as space for life is discussed by Prof. Maul' of Graz (Austria). The relations of men to space form the subject of Dr. Hesch's study. Haushofer himself deals with the problems of state, space, self-determination as well as the sphere of culture and cultural crossings. The world-religions have attracted the attention of Prof. Oberhummer (Vienna) and world-view in relation to space that of Wuest. Keyserlingk describes the international movements and Schmidt-Rohr the language questions as factors in the conquest of space. Economy as bound to region and as transcending it has been analyzed by Wiedenfeld while Sapper focuses the attention on transportation as an agent in space-transformation. Obst has a contribution on the problems of colonial expansion and the right to self-assertion.

From this brief survey one can obtain a somewhat precise idea of the scope of *Geopolitik.* We understand that the problems of life *visàvis* virtually every force, physical and moral as well as inter-racial, technical and spiritual, in one word, the interests of entire man as a growing and struggling being are being objectively studied by this group of researchers in association with Houshofer.

According to Wuest a world-view such as can actually transcend the limitations of space is impossible both as a concept and as a fact (p. 167). The so-called "higher unit" which is alleged to be established by the break-up of a previous world-view of a different character through assimilation, absorption, transformation, etc., is very questionable and in the long run is liable to disruption. It is impossible to emancipate the world-view from its space-limitations. The attempts to establish artificial world-languages. *e.g.*, Esperanto, Ido, Novial, Volapuck, have not been able to advance beyond their crude beginnings. Coudenove Kalergi's Pan-Europa movement is like the League of Nations idea a still-born phenomenon. The abolition of the Caliphate by Kemal Pasha is but the last item in an inevitable development, namely, the disappearance of Pan-Islam, unnatural as it is. By enunciating the doctrine that every world-view is by nature nothing but national or territorial, although it can to a certain extent transform the space and even transcend it, Wuest has exposed the philosophical bankruptcy of internationalism as a cult.

---

* B. K. Sarkar : "Haushofer's Cult of *Geopolitik*" in the *Calcutta Review* for April, 1934.

The other papers are, like that of Wuest's, critical surveys of extra-territorialism in culture. It is demonstrated that neither religion (pp. 170, 177-78), nor art, nor language (pp. 207, 230-32), nor technocracy (p. 195), nor economic developments (pp. 259, 272-73, 277), nor colonialism, nor imperialism (pp. 340-41) can in the last analysis lead to the genuine transcending of space or region. All the so-called international or internationalizing endeavours are essentially *raumgebunden* (space-limited and space-conditioned).

There is no mysticism or metaphysics in Haushofer's social philosophy. In the midst of all internationalizing ideologies his geopolitics teaches the world to remain awake to the one great reality of life (pp. 351-52), namely, that it is nothing but nationalism that rules mankind and that the eternal problem of to-day is, as our *Mahabharata* has taught for all ages, to study the science and art of *Macht*, *i.e.*, *shakti* or power. In geopolitics the student of Hindu societal theories will thus come across such *dicta* of Somadeva's *Nitivakyamrita* as *na hi kulagata kasyapi bhumih* (nobody's territory is derived from his family) and *virabhogya vasundhara* (it is by the powerful that the Earth can be enjoyed).

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

Reviews and Notices of Books.

Writing: Being a practical guide for all who seek to express themselves in good English, by William Freeman. A. & C. Black, Ltd., 4, 5 & 6 Soho Square, London, W.I. 1935. Pp. 149. Price 3*s*. 6*d*.

This volume is designed to give guidance to those amateur writers who intend either to earn reputation with, or to live on, their pen. It contains a good deal of suggestions and directions that will help those who want to go in for journalism and devotes fifteen chapters of which some are on style, and the technique of writing novels, short stories, drama and poetry.

BENOYENDRA CHAUDHURI.

The Causes of War, by the Very Rev. W. R. Inge, K.C.V.O., D.D., Lord Beaverbrook, G. D. H. Cole, Sir Josiah Stamp, Sir Norman Angell, Aldous Huxley, Major Douglas, Sir Austen Chamberlain, with an Introduction by H. J. Stenning, London. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. Pages 105. Price 3*s*. 6*d*.

This very small volume—considering the subject and the number of essays from the pen of nearly a dozen celebrities of the world to-day—appears at times to be devoted to clever, though idle, table talk. Naturally it makes interesting reading. for, it does not show any very great effort to go deep down into the subject. Of the considerable number of books written on this subject, few read more like an academic debate than this, and few are more interesting on the surface. Excepting some writers like Sir Josiah Stamp and G. D. H. Cole, others from the Very Reverend Dean Inge down to the very obdurate brace of imperialists, my Lord Beaverbrook and Sir Austen Chamberlain wrote because they have an interesting style and the power to argue. That originally the essays were talks over the wireless might explain the lightness of their tone, but, in any case, the search for the causes and the desire for the remedies, of war might have been more honest and sincere.

Consistently with his pessimism the Dean's arguments leave little to hope for. He thinks fear is a great cause of war and he shows that this fear is amply justified. Patriotism, he knows, is a cause of war but he will not scrap patriotism altogether and be a citizen of the world, because, 'patriotism is far too good a thing to lose.' He believes that 'the problem of abolishing war is very difficult and complicated' and that there are well-grounded fears which at present cannot be removed. Yet he does not expect war (contrary to his manner, he is here too optimistic!) because in the event of another war those who have anything to lose will lose it. As if that is enough reason to stop Italy from swooping down on Abyssinia or Japan from taking another mouthful from China!

For Lord Beaverbrook, the subject has rather narrowed down. He does not concern himself with war in general in the modern world and its causes, but has discussed how England with its empire can keep out of war. He believes that this the League of Nations cannot do for England; nor can alliance with any European power effect this. The only way for

England to avoid war for herself is to consolidate her empire and seek alliance with the United States of America and create a solid bloc of the Anglo-Saxon nations who will say—' We take no part in wars.' Evidently, his lordship shows more anxiety for Anglo-American alliance than for world peace.

Mr. Aldous Huxley recognizes the complexity of the causes of war and strives to speak only about the psychological aspect of the case. Psychology, in the modern times has become perhaps the most popular science; men of letters especially modern novelists have shown more interest in it than the psychologists themselves, and Mr. Huxley has achieved distinction among modern novelists. He has, in his essay, said quite a number of sensible things and thrown clear light on the subject, but, owing perhaps to his over-enthusiasm for psychology, drawn, here and there, conclusions which in spite of their brilliance, cannot pass either as responsible thinking or as commonsense. He shows from statistical figures that during wartime suicide rate fell considerably and concludes with mathematical calculation that 'life in wartime is about forty-five per cent. more worth living than life in times of peace;' from this he easily comes to the conclusion that man loves war. Nobody will question the truth of this conclusion but to arrive at it from the falling rate of suicide is somewhat amusing. The novelist's prerogative of explaining everything in terms of psychology does not go always well in a serious essay, and when Sir Austen Chamberlain in the concluding chapter gave, with reference to Mr. Huxley and his psychology, his ironical hint with the confession that with psychology, he is 'a little out of my depth,' he certainly gave the serious reader's point of view.

The subject is more seriously discussed by Sir Josiah Stamp, Norman Angell, Mr. Cole and Major Douglas. Mr. Angell pins his faith on a more powerful and sincere League of Nations and the others have dealt more or less with the economic causes of war. G. D. H. Cole thinks that menace to peace comes greatly from the propagandist activities of armament-makers and Sir Josiah Stamp puts war down mostly to the struggle for raw materials. The book is certainly entertaining and have all the good points of intellectual talks being more literary in its tone than scientific and practical in its purpose.

BENOYENDRA CHAUDHURI.

Fascism: Doctrine and Institutions, by Benito Mussolini, Publishers "Ardita," Rome, pp. 313.

In the vast literature which has grown round Fascism, the book under review holds a place all to its own. Written by the man who has made Fascism, it comes to us with the best recommendation and fulfills all our expectations so far as the clear enunciation of the fundamental ideas and principles of the movement are concerned. Those who care for the history of the movement, should turn to other books. Here we have an excellent presentation of its moral significance and of its political and social doctrine. Starting without any philosophical pre-occupation, Fascism has gradually developed into a dynamic philosophy of life, into an organic conception of the world, in which everyday experience is illumined by an active faith In the first part of his exposition, the author devotes himself to a synthetic presentation of the main features of this philosophy. The fascist attitude towards life is a spiritual attitude which manifests itself in an extraordinary display of the power of will. Fascism conceives the world as power and life as struggle and emphasises the domination of both by the exercise of one's free will. "Therefore life," says the author, "as conceived by the Fascist, is serious, austere, religious; all its manifestations are poised in a world sustained by moral forces and subject to spiritual responsibilities. The Fascist disdains an 'easy' life." It is, in other words, a cult of Sakti, composed of the dynamism of thought and the dynamism of action, which denies the possibility of perfect human happiness and universal peace and the existence of any panacea for human ills. There is no final settlement of difficulties because life is in continuous flux. Fascism, therefore, takes the problems as they come and solves them not according to abstractions, but by acting on the hints suggested by the problems themselves. There can, therefore, be nothing stereotyped in Fascism and those who know the history of the movement are aware of how often it has undergone changes.

As a movement Fascism has three aspects, an aspect which shows its destructive power, an aspect which reveals its power of conservation, and an aspect which reveals its creative genius. In its destructive aspect it came into clash with the doctrines of liberalism and may be said to have demolished them in Italy, if not elsewhere. Parliamentarism, the form under which liberalism has generally expressed itself, has been given a death-blow by the totalitarian state of Fascism. "Liberalism denied the state in the name of the individual; Fascism re-asserts the rights of the state as expressing the real essence of the individual." And such a state in order to be something more than a mere administrator, "must utter great words, expound great ideas and place great problems before the people."

An anti-individualistic state and so without any liberty and scope for the development of personality,—to this charge the author replies: "In our state the individual is not deprived of freedom. In fact, he has greater liberty than an isolated man, because the State protects him and he is part of the State." The individual's participation in the state may be said to consist in the development of one's personality and then merging it gradually in the higher personality of the state, *i.e.*, of the nation. In other words, the individual must attain a sort of political *nirvana*. This is according to the author, not a denial of democracy, but a higher democracy. "Fascism is opposed to that form of democracy which equates a nation to the majority lowering it to the level of the largest number; but it is the purest form of democracy if the nation is considered—as it should be—from the point of view of quality rather than quantity, as an idea, the mightiest because the most ethical, the most coherent, the truest, expressing itself in a people as the conscience and will of the few, if not, indeed, of one, and tending to express itself in the conscience and the will of the mass, of the whole group ethnically moulded by natural and historical conditions into a nation, advancing, as one conscience and one will, along the self-same line of development and spiritual formation."

As regards the second aspect it may be mentioned that though Fascism is a revolutionary movement and an iconoclast of the favourite liberal ideologies, it has at the same time a respect for tradition and the accumulated spiritual experiences of the nation as expressed "in language, in customs, in the rules of social life." Marriage, for instance, is an institution for which it has a fervent reverence and monarchy, is an institution which it is determined to maintain at all costs. It has even respect for the best qualities of liberalism, socialism and democracy and is ready to preserve them because they are the "acquired facts" of history. There can be no going back in history and any movement which aims at creating new history must take account of all such "acquired facts" left as legacy to us by all previous movements.

The creative energy of Fascism is being expended in various fields, but chiefly in the creation of the totalitarian and ethical state We have indicated before what state means in the Fascist sense. We give another quotation. " For Fascism the State is absolute, individuals and groups relative. Individuals and groups are admissible in so far as they come within the state. Instead of directing the game and guiding the material and moral progress of the community, the liberal state restricts its activities to recording results. The Fascist State is wide awake and has a will of its own. For this reason it can be described as ethical....................Fascism desires the State to be strong and organic, bas d on broad foundations of popular support.........it makes its action felt throughout the length and breadth of the country by means of its corporative, social, and educational institutions, and all the political, economic and spiritual forces of the nation, organized in their respective associations, circulate within the State."

As regards religion the author says that " the Fascist state sees in religion one of the deepest of spiritual manifestations, and for this reason it not only respects religion but defends and protects it."

After the chapter on Fascism there follow two lectures by Mussolini delivered to the National Council of Corporation on 14th November, 1933 and to the Senate on 13th January, 1934, in which he gives us a most brilliant survey of the capitalistic economy, its rise and development into super-capitalism, the complications to which it has given birth. The remedy is planned economy based on the system of corporations.

The rest of the book is occupied by the fundamental laws of Fascism, *e.g.*, the law on the syndical and corporative system, chapter II of which is devoted to the interesting experiment conducted by Italy in the solution of labour problems through labour courts, the law on the functions of the syndicates and collective relations of labour, the law on the National Council of Corporations, etc.

At the end there is an extensive bibliography of literature on Fascism.

PRAMATHANATH RAY.

Abstract

HAILE SELASSIE, MONARCH OF ABYSSINIA

The following study of the great personality of Emperor Ras Tafari of Ethiopia will be very interesting in the face of the present Italo-Abyssinian dispute, which will, in the opinion of diplomats, very soon ablaze into a deadly war. Mr. Wilfrid Hindle's powerful pen-picture of this last absolute monarch, since the end of absolutism in Siam, appears in the *Review of Reviews*, from which extracts are reproduced below:—

Hailé Selassié, Power of the Trinity I, King of Kings, Conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah, Emperor of Ethiopia, is strong in his own line, which claims direct descent from the Queen of Sheba and the House of David. He is stronger in his people, who—the aristocracy among them, at any rate—are as proud and contemptuous of the European as they are domestically turbulent and indolent. He is strongest of all in his own character, which he has shown to be that of a statesman.

Ras Tafari, as he is still more familiarly known in England, was born in 1891, the son of Ras Makonnen, Governor of the rich Abyssinian Province of Harrar and owner of extensive estates. He was educated on European lines by French monks at Harrar. He was well educated. He reads and speaks French fluently, is widely read in the literature of his own country, and has some acquaintance with the standard European works on literary an scientific subjects.

His care for literature remained with him long after he left the monk's hands. He has established in Addis Ababa, capital of modern Ethiopia, a printing press whence come popular editions of the ancient Ethiopean ecclesiastical works in the native Amharic. He is also himself an author, having written an introduction to the edition of St. John Chrysostom's "Book of Corrective Admonisions," which his press published, and a narrative of his first journey abroad.

In 1916, amid the internal troubles caused by the flirtations with Turkey of Lij Yasu, the Emperor next in succession, Ras Tafari was made Regent for his aunt, the Empress Zauditu or Zudith.

His Regency was active. In 1921 he had to march forth at the head of an army of ten thousand men to capture Lij Yasu. In 1923 he affrighted the more conservative of his naturally conservative countrymen by paying an official visit to Aden, and going up in a aeroplane while there. Himself a genuine idealist (in a land where the total number of idealist is not great), he brought his country into the League of Nations, and in 1924 betook himself into the outside world with a series of official visit to Rome, Paris and London.

By the time he succeeded the Empress Judith in all power and title in 1930, he was of a character fully formed and already embarked on a policy of what, for want of a better term, is called Westernisation.

The Ethiopians distrust the friendship of Powers whose own colonies lie nearby, whether those Powers come bearing gifts or not. But there are other Powers far away, and it is to them—Americans and Japanese—that the Emperor turns.

His whole life has been described as a triumph of mind over matter. Direct in speech, simple in manner, of innate courtesy, he is of slight build, ivory colour and Semitic cast of countenance. He works hard, from early morning until late at night. He has a passion for knowledge, particularly of the practical kind. His palace has all modern conveniences—wireless, cinema, electric light, a European chef. Within its grounds is a model dairy which would give points to some European institutions.

The Emperor, however, is a skilled politician. He did not make the same mistake as Amanullah, another reforming monarch, and in consequence has, so far at least, escaped the same fate. When he went on his visit to Europe in 1924, he took with him all the chieftains who might have been liable to make trouble in his absence.

Lord Noel-Buxton has recorded that, when he went to Addis Ababa to see how the supposed abolition of slavery was progressing, the Emperor frequently remarked to him: "I have my own secret thoughts." What those "secret thoughts" are can only be guessed by an European. It would be a safe guess, however, that they are intelligent thoughts; and it is a certain fact that they are allied with a force of character and a patriotism which will not easily be submitted to the demands of any European Power.

THE DARK AGES OF ARITHMETIC

Mr. F. Emerson Andrews has contributed an illuminating article in *The Atlantic* on arithmetical formulas during the time of Emperor Charlemagne and his great schoolmaster, Alcuin. He observes:—

> An excellent way to see one's own country, or one's own century, is to visit another.
>
> While I was making just such a mental pilgrimage to the eighth century, a recent interest in unconventional mathematics led me to examine with unusual care the arithmetic of the Franks in the days of Charlemagne and his great schoolmaster, Alcuin.
>
> These were the Dark Ages of arithmetic, as of most other forms of learning. The Hindu-Arabic numerals we use to-day had not been imported by way of Spain, and even among the Arabs there is no evidence that the magic zero—symbol for nothing on which most mathematical science rests—was yet invented. The cumbersome Roman numerals were those used with knowledge among the learned of the still worse Greek ones. Even geometry, which the Greeks under Euclid and Apollonious had developed to a fine science capable of performing operations awkward or impossible with their numerals, was being partly forgotten.
>
> One might suppose that nothing useful or interesting could be learned from examining the arithmetic texts of that Dark Age. I have found the opposite true. The very difficulty men had in performing simple multiplications which a child of ten now does with ease resulted in ingenious devices. Because men had no good set of simple formulas on which to guide to automatic answers, they had to think hard about quantity, and what it did and why. Their strange and often crude ideas of number

have in several instances guided modern mathematicians to important discoveries.

There are two chief sources for our knowledge of the arithmetic of the Middle Ages, both text-books. The first is the *Introduction to Arithmetic* of Nicomachus of Gerasa, concerning whom almost nothing is known except that he lived about 100 A.D., probably in a town not far from Jerusalem, and wrote in Greek what appears to be the world's first true arithmetic. His book contributed little that was new, but it summarized most of the arithmetical knowledge and beliefs of his time. Boethius, prolific writer and Christian martyr of the sixth century, popularized Nicomachus by re-writing him in Latin, the common language of the scholars of the day. The text-books of these two men. together with minor contributions of other writers, constituted the arithmetic of the Dark Ages.

There are dreary wastes and blind stumblings in this arithmetic. but there were also some facts which most of the world has since forgotten. How many people know to-day that any number can be squared without multiplication, simply by adding a series of odd numbers equal to the number to be squared ? For instance. the square of 3 (which is 9) is the sum of the first three odd numbers, $1+3+5=9$. And the square of 8 (or 64) is the sum of the first eight odd numbers, $1+3+5+7+9+11+13+15=64$. And so on infinitely, through all the possible integral squares.

We no longer need this method since multiplication has been reduced to an efficient formula. But imagine the difficulty the powerful emperor Charlemagne had in trying to multiply, say XXXVII by XXIX. Just these practical difficulties, in either the Roman or the Greek numerals, led to some concepts of number that sound strange in our ears, and will bear examining.

Nicomachus thought the creation could be divided into two varieties—magnitudes and multitudes. Magnitudes were things like the earth itself, or a tree, and were infinitely divisible. Multitudes were like a heap of stones or a flock of ship, and these were infinitely increasable. It followed that ' sciences are always sciences of limited things,' or things that could be numbered. Arithmetic itself occupied a special position, for without it no science could exist. but it needed no science for its own existence.

Boethius used number for his division of the famous quadrivium of the Middle Ages. 'Numbers absolute' constituted arithmetic. 'Numbers in mutual relationship ' were the foundation of music. ' Quantity at rest ' was the subject-matter of geometry; 'quantity in motion,' of Astronomy.

TRAINING INDIANS FOR MILITARY CAREERS

None should deny that with the introduction of the new constitution, greater avenue should be explored to train Indian youths in the art of strategy in a more perfect way than it was before.

St. Nihal Sing in an article on the above subject in *The Modern Review* partially criticizes, amongst others, the recommendations of the Skeen Committee in the following manner:—

The Skeen Committee recommended that young men who had passed the Matriculation examination should be eligible to admission to the Indian Military Academy. They should undergo a three years' training—twice as long as at Sandhurst. The first year should be devoted chiefly to academic studies to enable cadets drawn from institutions not of the " public school " type to improve their general knowledge and colloquial English and also to develop physique and character. These objects, it was thought, could be better achieved in that way than by compelling them to remain a further year and a half at school and then undergo a short military training. The remaining two years at the Academy should be devoted largely to studying military subjects. The cadets would thus be able to obtain their commissions at approximately the same age as British cadets passing out of Sandhurst.

It was specially stipulated that the course should be so framed as to secure specific recognition from Universities. Young men who did not succeed in securing the King's Commission could, through that device, continue their studies at a University on a level with contemporaries of like age.

The Committee further recommended that the cadets who succeeded in passing the tests should be attached to a Cavalry or Infantry unit in the United Kingdom for a period of one year. Through this device they might become accustomed to associating with British officers.

A careful note must be made of this point. I shall refer to it in the second article.

To grasp the other recommendations of the Skeen Committee it is necessary to realize that cadets at the Royal Military College at Sandhurst are trained only for the infantry and cavalry units and that those desirous of entering the technical units of the army receive training in other institutions in England. In India the term "Sandhurst" has been used loosely to comprehend training for all arms and this has given rise to misconception. This practice is strongly to be deprecated.

The Skeen Committee recommended the lifting of the barriers that were keeping Indians out of technical arms—that henceforward Indians be made eligible to serve as King's Commissioned Officers in the Artillery, Engineer, Signal, Tank and Air arms of the army in India. The members of the Committee who had travelled in other lands and studied conditions there had come to the very definite conclusion that adequate facilities for giving the necessary training for such purposes were not available in India. Existing engineering establishment in our country—the Thomason College of Engineering at Roorkee was specially mentioned—fell below the standard of similar institutions in Britain. Since it would be uneconomic immediately to provide facilities in India corresponding to those in Britain, they recommended that carefully selected young men should be admitted to Woolwich and Cranwell for some years to come.

These boys should be required to pass the same qualifying tests as their British compeers. Eight vacancies should be allotted to Indians at Woolwich (in 1928) and two at the Royal Air Force College at Cranwell; and the number should be increased progressively in due proportion.

These words are significant. They need no comment from me.

News and Views

[A monthly Record of News and Views relating to Schools, Colleges. Universities, and other Literary, Cultural and Academic Institutions and Movements in India.]

State Scholarships

In order to encourage students to acquire specialised instruction in subjects like medicine, agriculture, engineering, pedagogics, techology, etc, Junagadh State Government have sanctioned Rs. 5,264 a year, in addition to Rs. 5,960 already sanctioned, to be given away to students as scholarships.

These are open to students of the backward classes only, provided that they are prepared to offer their services to the State for the first three years after passing their final examination should the State required them to do so.

Indian's success: Obtains Honours in LL. B. Degree

An Indian's name figures in London University's LL.B. honours list. There are only five firsts in the present list and Mr. Subimal Chandra Roy is one of them.

A son of Mr. Subodh Chandra Roy, the Calcutta barrister, Mr. Subimal Chandra Roy came to London after a brilliant career at the Calcutta University. During his three years' stay in London he has been an active member of University College Debating Society and a member of the Law Society of the University of London. Mr. Roy has left to spend a short holiday in India and will return to London to read for the Bar.

Carnegie Scholarship for Indian Scholar

Dr. Itrjt Husainzubri has been awarded the Carnegie Scholarship of £250 for two years by the Edinburgh University, for higher research on 17th century English poetry.

He is the first Indian to be awarded this scholarship.

London University : Indians in B. Sc. Honours list

A number of candidates from India secured Honours in the B.Sc. (Economics) examination of London University.

Manoharrao Narsingrao. Amiya Kumar Sen and Tarlok Singh obtained a second class pass in the upper division.

Shiavax Sorabji Bhathena, Ganesh Vasudeo Deshpande, Tehmuras Darashaw Doongaji, T. J. D'Souza, Muhammad Abdul Khadar, Mijar Vittal Pai, Konda Malli R. S. Reddy, Durgeshwar Dayal Seth and Akbarali Gulamhusen Vazir obtained a second class pass in the lower division.

Kumaril Vinayak Mehta secured a second class pass (external examination).

Education Congress : More than 1,500 Delegates Present

More than 1,500 delegates were present in Oxford for the meeting of the World Education Congress.

All grades of teaching, from free school to university, were represented.

The delegates have come from all parts of the British Empire (including India), the United States, France, Germany, Italy, Japan and many other countries.

The Congress is the occasion of synchronized conferences of the World Federation of Education Associations, the International Federation of Associations of Secondary Teachers, and the International Federation of Teachers Associations.

A Private Museum worth Rs. 2 Lakhs : Zeminder's offer

The proposal by Mr. Narendra Narayan Roy, Zamindar of Baldah in Dacca district, to present his entire private museum worth about Rs. 2,00,000 to the Bengal Government on condition that its collections are housed in the Dacca Museum, has brought the affairs of the Dacca Museum to the forefront again.

About 10 years ago Mr. Roy began to interest himself in the formation of a home museum. The museum grew and soon occupied almost all the available floor space on the ground floor of his Dacca residence. Inscribed and historical swords, daggers, spears, battle-axes, matchlocks, armour, old coins, Dacca Muslins, carpets, and musical instruments, are some of the articles to be found in his museum.

About three years ago Mr. Roy purchased on the outskirts of the city of Dacca more than 300 bighas of land, almost an entire village, with the intention of converting the area into a botanical garden. As it is his habit to look into everything personally, the strain of maintaining his home garden, his home museum and finally his new venture probably proved too much for him. Hence the proposal to hand over his museum to the Bengal Government to be made a part of the Dacca Museum.

In 1933 the Bengal Government appointed a committee to consider what steps should be taken to reorganize the Dacca Museum and bring it into closer association with Dacca University.

The committee submitted a unanimous report in October, 1933, but the Government has not yet given effect to its recommendations. It is believed that Mr. Roy's offer will help the Government in coming to a decision regarding the future of the Dacca Museum.

Dr. William Carey

To commemorate the 175th birthday anniversary of Dr. William Carey, the founder of the Serampur College, a meeting of the staff and students was held in the College Hall, Rev. J. N. Rawson, the Principal, presiding.

The Rev. B. A. Nag who was a speaker for the occasion, dwelt on the influence Dr. Carey exerted upon Bengal's religious leaders of the last century such as Raja Rammohan Roy, Keshabchandra Sen and Dwarkanath Tagore.

A Social was organised on the previous evening for the resident staff and students in the College Hostel where tributes to the memory of Dr. Carey were paid by Professor Barclay and Professor Guha, and several students. Dr. Barclay spoke about the Carey centenary celebration held last year in England, and Scotland and at the Baptist World Congress, in Berlin.

Practical Farming for Youths

The Government policy of imparting a rural bias to education in Bengal will be introduced at the Agricultural Institute at Rajshahi, which will be named after the donor, the late Kumar Basantakumar Roy of Dighapatia.

The courses of study at the Institute will consist of training in dariy-farming, including preparation of dairy products, horticulture, poultry rearing, cigarmaking and practical farming.

Specialized courses will be provided for dairy chemistry and dairy bacteriology, and instruction will be imparted in the canning and bottling of fruits and vegetables.

The Institute will have for its use the lands of the Government farm at Rajshahi, while the present staff of the Rajshahi College will be utilized for instruction in the basic sciences

The extra staff to be employed will consist of a horticulturist who has specialized in canning and an instructor in dairying. Provision has also been made for an instructor in poultry management and a dairy overseer.

Admission will be open to two classes of students, namely, casual and regular.

The donor created by his will an endowment of a nominal value of Rs. 2½ lakhs in Government Promissory Notes for the introduction of agricultural education at Rajshahi. The funds of the endowment now stand at Rs. 3.84,300 of which it is proposed to utilize Rs. 30,000 to meet the capital expenditure of the Institute while from the balance a sum of Rs. 15,000 will be available annually in interest to meet the running cost.

Need of Scientific Training

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who returned from England about five weeks ago, is now engaged in drafting the provisional report of the U. P. Unemployment Committee, of which he is the chairman

It is understood that the draft report will shortly be considered by the committee.

His Excellency Sir Harry Haig, Governor of the United Provinces, is believed to be of the opinion that education should be so adapted to the needs of the country that after the completion of educational careers the question of unemployment will not arise.

It is understood that after his recent tour of foreign countries, where he closely examined the question of unemployment, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru holds the view that the unemployment remedy lies in the expansion of industries and wider and more extensive industrial and vocational teaching.

Secondary Education.

It is likely that a considerable modification of the system of secondary education will be recommended in order that students, after finishing secondary education, may be fitted to enter an industrial course of studies. There is apparently a considerable volume of opinion in the country demanding the provision of scientific and industrial education immediately after the secondary education stage.

The Allahabad University, Chemistry Department has furnished to the committee a statement showing the extent of unemployment among ex-students of the Chemistry Department. It is reported that of the 18 persons awarded the Doctorate degree during the past 14 years, one is at present carrying on research work in Paris. The rest are employed in important teaching or research posts all over the country. Of the 115 M.Sc. degree students turned out during the same period, only five are reported to be unemployed. This, it is stated, strongly supports the view that there is a considerable demand in the country for qualified persons in scientific and industrial careers.

An important recommendation which is likely to find a place in the report is the introduction of the Chamber practice system in the United Provinces, under which the work of a certain number of senior lawyers will be restricted to Chamber practice, that is, of giving legal advice.

Education Board's Functions

" The Government of India have decided to revive the central Advisory Board of Education," says a resolution of the Department of Education, Health and Lands.

The functions of the Board will be to advise on any educational questions which may be referred to it by the Government of India or by any local Government; to call for information and advise regarding educational developments of special interest or value to India; and to examine this information and circulate it with recommendations to the Government of India and to local Governments. The constitution of the board will be the Hon. Member in Charge of the Department of Education, Health and Lands (chairman), the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, six nominees of the Government of India, of whom one at least will be a woman, one member elected by the Council of State, two members elected by the Legislative Assembly, three members nominated by the Inter-University Board of India, a representative of each local Government who will be either the Minister in Charge of Education (or his deputy) or the Director of Public Instruction (or his deputy).

Method of Working.

The tenure of office of non-official members of the Board will be three years. Official members of the Board will continue to act until they are replaced by others. The Secretary of the Board will be appointed by the Government of India.

The resolution gives details of the method of working. The Board will form standing and *ad hoc* committees and will have the power of appointing to those committees persons who are not members of the Board but who possess special knowledge and experience of the problems which the committees will examine. The Government of India have not yet fixed any date for the first meeting of the Board but it is anticipated that it will be held at Delhi as soon as possible after the beginning of the cold weather.

Education for Hill Boys

A Government education conference opened recently at Shillong under the chairmanship of the Hon. Mr. W. L. Scott, Revenue Member, on the policy to be adopted for the education of boys in the hill districts of Assam.

Representatives of missionary bodies working in the hills, the Commissioner and Deputy Commissioners of the Hill districts, the Director of Public Instruction and the Secretary to the Education Department attended.

Important items on the agenda were the medium of instruction, the steps to be taken to encourage industrial and agricultural training; and the better control and inspection of village schools.

Indian Military College

It is understood that Dr. B. S. Moonjee's scheme for an Indian Military College is now complete. He will register it in the course of this week. Although the site for the College has not yet been fixed, it is almost certain that it will be situated between Manmad and Nasik. The college is expected to commence work immediately.

University of Allahabad

For the purpose of advising students of the Allahabad University desirous of competing for the various competitive examinations held in India by the Public Services Commission of India, the Executive Council of the Allahabad University has appointed an Advisory Board. The Board will consist of the Vice-Chancellor, Sir Charles Weir, Pandit H. N. Kunzru, Mr. Prakash Narain Sapru, Dr. Meghanath Saha, Dr. Tarachand and Prof. Amarnath Jha. It is to be hoped that other Universities in India will follow the example of the Allahabad University.

Government Arts College, Rajamundry

The inaugural address of the Metcalfe Young Men's Literary Association attached to the Government Arts College, Rajahmundry, was delivered by Mr. S. K. Chettur, M.A., I.C.S., the subject of his discourse being "The appreciation of Poetry." Mr. D. S. Sarma, M.A., L.T., Principal, presided. Mr. Chettur criticised the way in which poetry was being taught in schools and colleges in India and said that no attempt was made by lecturers to interpret the spirit of the poem and the mood in which it was written by the poet. The President remarked that poetry was a great civilising agent in the history of mankind and that poetry would reveal to us the significance of life. The meeting concluded with a vote of thanks proposed by Mr. V. Butchi Ramiah, the Secretary of the Association.

Teachers' College, Madras

The Universities must train young men not only to make them fit for the struggle in life but also for welding the nation together so that our differences may be wiped out and we may become one. In this welding together of the nation teachers have a great part to play" observed Dr. P. Subbaroyan, B.A. (OXON.), B.C.L., BAR.-AT-LAW, M.L.C., delivering the inaugural address of the Teachers' College Association. Rao Sahib P. K. Ananthanarayana Aiyar, M.A., L.T., Principal of the College, presided.

Ourselves

I. The late Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary.—II. A New Ph.D.—III. A New D.L.—IV. Dr. A. J. Barnet Kempere.—V. Darbhanga Research Scholar for 1935.—VI. Sadhan Memorial Prize.—VII. New Affiliation.—VIII. University Extension Lectures.—IX. University Readership Fund.—X. University Students' Information Bureau.—XI. Dates of University Examinations.—XII. Results of University Examinations.—Notifications.

I. THE LATE SIR DEVAPRASAD SARVADHIKARY.

It is with a feeling of profound melancholy that we have to refer to the death of Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary, who passed away in the early hours of the 11th August at the old age of seventy five. In him Bengal has lost a patriotic son and the University its first non-official Vice-Chancellor. Son of Dr. Surya Coomar Sarvadhikary, the first Indian Dean of the Faculty of Medicine and nephew of Prasanna Kumar Sarvadhikary, the first non-Brahmin Principal of the Sanskrit College, it was quite in the fitness of things that Sir Devaprasad should devote his leisure and energy unsparingly to the cause of culture and education. For long a member of the Syndicate, Sir Devaprasad was regarded as the right-hand man of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee while that great Vice-Chancellor was slowly but steadily organising the teaching and research departments of the Calcutta University. When Sir Asutosh vacated his office after eight years of uninterrupted labour and unbroken success, Sir Devaprasad was called upon to occupy his place and it was during his Vice-Chancellorship that the dreams of Sir Asutosh were realised and a teaching institution was superimposed upon the old examining University. He came to the helm of the University at a critical moment and his brilliant success earned him the Knighthood he deserved so well. As an educationist Sir Devaprasad will always occupy a very high position in the history of this country. But his activities were not confined to education alone. Every movement, social, political, spiritual or intellectual, drew from him a ready response and there is hardly a society or association worth the name to which he did not lend his support and extend his patronage. A Congressman of the old type, Sir Devaprasad believed in a policy of co-operation but he never failed to work according to his conviction. He was one of those twenty-eight immortals who resigned their seats on the Corporation in protest against the Mackenzie Act. The Bengali literature owes him a heavy debt of gratitude. He shared Sir Asutosh's robust optimism and sincerely believed in the future glory of his mother tongue. He wielded a powerful and facile pen and his charming prose will be a source of pleasure and joy to generations of the Bengalee reading public. A scion of a Kulin family, Sir Devaprasad was a fit representative of the aristocracy of intellect and a perfect embodiment of olden courtesy, which never failed to touch a responding chord in his friends and acquaintances. The call of duty never found him slumbering and he readily placed himself at the disposal of his country. Twice did he represent his *Alma Mater* at the Universities' Congress of the British Empire ; was a member of the assembly of the League of Nations ; even the stupendous and almost impossible task of winning the elementary rights of citizenship for his fellow countrymen in South Africa could not cool his ardour or shake his faith in the ultimate triumph of Truth and Justice. It will be long before the void he leaves can be filled. Our sympathy goes to the bereaved family whose loss we mourn and whose sorrow we share.

* * *

II. A NEW PH.D.

Mr. Banikanta Kakati, M.A., has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of this University on a thesis entitted "Assamese, its formation and development." The thesis was adjudicated by a Board of Examiners consisting of Professor Jules Bloch, Dr. A. C. Woolner and Professor Sunitikumar Chatterji.

We offer our congratulations to the worthy recipient of the distinction.

* * *

III. A NEW D.L.

Mr. Jitendranath Das-Gupta, M.A., M.L., has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Law of this University on his main thesis entitled ' Burden of Proof ' supplemented by two subsidiary theses (1) ' The rules against and the Indian Evidence Act,' (2) ' Effect of Mistake on Possession.' The theses were examined by a Board consisting of Hon'ble Mr. Justice Dwarkanath Mitter, the Hon'ble Justice Sir Manmathanath Mukherjee and Sir Krishnaswami Ayar.

Mr. Das-Gupta is Professor of Law in the Dacca University where he has distinguished himself by his learning and researches. We offer our heartly congratulations to the worthy recipient of the honour.

* * *

IV. DR. A. J. BARNET KEMPERE.

We understand that Dr. A. J. Barnet Kempere, PH.D., has been appointed special University Reader to deliver a course of at least two lectures on the "Development of Hindu-Japanese Culture and Art specially in connection with its relations to Indian Culture." The date of the lectures will be announced later.

* * *

V. DARBHANGA RESEARCH SCHOLAR FOR 1935.

We are informed that on the recommendation of the Faculty of Medicine Mr. Hemendranath Chatterjee, M.B., has been appointed Darbhanga Research Scholar for the year 1935 on the usual terms and conditions.

* * *

VI. SADHAN MEMORIAL PRIZE.

The University has accepted an offer from Sreemati Charubala Devi of 3½ per cent. G. P. Notes of the face value of Rs. 400 for creating an endowment for the annual award of a Prize to be called "Sadhan Memorial Prize" to be given to the student, male or female, irrespective of caste, colour or creed, who will secure the highest marks in Sanskrit in the Matriculation Examination from the schools in the district of Backergunj. The prize is to be awarded in books.

The amount may be small but the spirit of the gift is commendable.

* * *

VII. NEW AFFILIATION.

We are informed that with effect from the commencement of the session 1935-36, "Our Lady's House," Shillong, will be affiliated to the Calcutta University in English, Khasi, Bengali, Assamese, Hindi, Latin, History, Logic and Civics to the I.A. standard.

* *

VIII. UNIVERSITY EXTENSION LECTURES.

We are glad to announce that Mr. Nagendranath Ghosh, M.A.. B.L., Advocate, High Court, Calcutta has been invited to deliver a course of University Extention Lectures on the Vedas and the Avesta. The lectures are to be delivered after the Puja holidays. Mr. Ghosh was formely Tagore Professor of Law in the University. His range of study transcends the domain of Law and he has already distinguished himself by his thoughtful contributions on Ancient History. We have every reason to believe that his lectures will be illuminating.

* * *

IX. UNIVERSITY READERSHIP FUND.

We understand that the University is in communication with the Government of Bengal in the matter of the restoration of the Government Grant under the above head to its former amount, *viz.*, Rs. 4,000. The amount has of late been reduced to Rs 2,000, to which the University had to agree purely as a temporary measure. In view of the commitments (to the extent of Rs. 9,000) already undertaken by the University in regard to the lectures of Madame Montessori, Mr. C. S. Rangaswami, Sir Denison Ross, Dr. C. E. Turner, Prof. Y. Noguchi and Prof. Zoltan de Takaes, there will hardly be any working balance left in the Fund. In the circumstances, it is but legitimate that the Grant should be restored now that there is ample balance available within the total grant sanctioned by the Legislative Council for the University. Otherwise, the University will not be in a position to take any further steps in accordance with the provisions of Chapter X of the Regulations.

* * *

X. UNIVERSITY STUDENTS' INFORMATION BUREAU.

The University Students' Information Bureau for 1935-37 has been constituted as follows:—

The Vice-Chancellor, Chairman, *Ex-officio.*
The Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, *Ex-officio.*
Prof. W. S. Urquhart, M.A., D.L., D.LITT., D.D. (Representative—Faculty of Arts.)
P. C. Mahalanobis, Esq., M.A. (Cantab.). (Do.—Science.)

Lt.-Col. A. D. Stewart, C. I. E., M.B., CH.B., F.R.C.S.E., D.P.H., D.T.M. & H.,F.S.M.F. (Bengal)—Faculty of Medicine.

Amin Ahmed, Esq., B.A., LL.B. (Cantab.), M.A. (Cal.), Barrister-at-Law, Representative of the Faculty of Law.

R. Wolfenden, Esq., M.B.E., M.SC., M.I.MECH.E., M.I.E. (Ind.), Barrister-at-Law Representative of Faculty of Engineering).

A. H. Harley, Esq., M.A.
Pramathanath Banerjee, Esq., M.A., B.L., Barrister-at-Law.
Prof. Hemendrakumar Sen, M.A., D.SC., D.I.C.
} Appointed by the Syndicate.

Prof. Surendranath Sen, M.A., PH.D., B.LITT. (Oxon.)—Representative, Ex. Com. of the Council of P. G. T., Arts.

Prof. Himadrikumar Mookerjee, D.SC., D.I.C. (Lond.)—Representative, Ex. Com. of the Council of P. G. T., Science.

* * *

XI. DATES OF UNIVERSITY EXAMINATIONS.

The commencing dates of the University Examinations have been fixed as follows:—

1.	Matriculation Examination, 1936	... 12th March, 1936.
2.	I.A. & I.Sc. Examinations, 1936	... 17th February, 1936.
3.	B.A. & B.Sc. Examinations, 1936	... 23rd March, 1936.
4.	Preliminary, Intermediate and Final Examinations in Law, January, 1936	... 6th January, 1936.
5.	M.L. Examination, 1935	... 16th December, 1935.
6.	L.T. & B.T. Examinations	... 15th April, 1936.

* * *

XII. RESULTS OF UNIVERSITY EXAMINATIONS.

The results of the last Law and Engineering Examinations have been reported as follows:—

Preliminary Examination in Law, July, 1935.

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 650, of whom 123 were absent and 2 were disallowed.

The number of candidates who actually sat for the examination was 525, of whom 267 passed and 258 failed.

Of the successful candidates 16 were placed in Class I and 251 placed in Class II.

The percentage of pass is 50·8.

Intermediate Examination in Law, July, 1935.

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 485, of whom 78 were absent.

The number of candidates who actually sat for the examination was 407, of whom 282 passed and 125 failed.

Of the successful candidates 24 were placed in Class I and 258 placed in Class II.

The percentage of pass is 69·28.

Final Examination in Law, July 1935.

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 691, of whom 229 were absent.

The number of candidates who actually sat for the examination was 462, of whom 329 passed and 133 failed.

Of the successful candidates 25 were placed in Class I and 304 placed in Class II.

The percentage of pass is 71·2.

I. E. Section A.

45 candidates were registered in connection with the Examination. Of these 8 were registered for Mathematics only, having already qualified in the Groups Chemistry and Physics. 1 was registered in Physics only, having already qualified in Mathematics and Chemistry ; and 2 were registered in Chemistry only, having already qualified in Mathematics and Physics.

Of the 34 who presented themselves in all groups, 20 passed in all groups, 10 were partially successful, 1 failing to qualify in Mathematics only, 1 in Physics only and 7 in Chemistry only ; and 4 failed completely.

Of the 8 candidates who apeared in Mathematics only, all passed. Of the 2 who appeared in Chemistry only, both qualified and one who appeared in Physics only, qualified. Thus 31 have passed and have now completed I.E. Section A.

I. E. Section B.

58 candidates were definitely registered for the Examination and 6 were provisionally registered subject to their completing Section A.

Of these 6, all qualified in Section A. The number, therefore, validly registered for this Examination was 64. Of these, 41 passed and 23 failed.

Of the 11 B.Sc. candidates (included I.E. Section B) who were validly registered for this Examination, and therefore appeared in Section B only, 9 passed and 2 failed.

B.E. (Civil Engineering).

Non-Professional Section.

35 candidates were registered in connection with this Examination. Of these 1 was registered for Mathematics only and one for Science only. All were present. Of the 33 candidates who presented themselves for the whole examination, 31 qualified in both Mathematics and Science ; 1 failed to qualify in Mathematics only, and one failed to qualify in Science only. The candidate who had qualified previously in Science and appeared in Mathematics only, qualified in Mathematics and thus completed the Examination. The candidate who had qualified previously in Mathematics and appeared in Science only, duly qualified in Science. 33 candidates thus completed the Non-Professional Section.

* * *

THE LATE PROF. PRABHATCHANDRA CHAKRAVARTI.

Close upon the death of Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary comes the stunning news that Professor Prabhatchandra Chakravarti is no more. By his death the University has lost a teacher distinguished for scholarship and power of exposition. A man of rare intelligence and profound learning, Prof. Chakravarti never spared himself in the pursuit of knowledge. Ever since he joined his appointment as a Lecturer in Sanskrit in the Post-Graduate Department, he set to himself a very ambitious scheme of work which it was his most cherished wish to see accomplished. He had the satisfaction to find that his industry had borne fruit at last, though alas, it was at the cost of his life. Two of his works, *Philosophy of Sanskrit Grammar* and *Linguistic Speculations of the Hindus*, will bear testimony to his claim to distinction; they ultimately won for him the Asutosh Chair of Sanskrit in this University. But, alas, it was not given to him to enjoy this hard-earned distinction for long. His health had already given way and he died on the 2nd September, only a year after he had been appointed Asutosh Professor, and he died in harness, having taken upon himself the arduous task of preparing a comprehensive selection of the Vedas. A valuable life with promise of a glorious future has been cut short and the University is the poorer by the sad and untimely demise of Prof. Chakravarti. We offer our heartfelt condolence to the bereaved family.

NOTIFICATIONS.

1. *Woodhouse Memorial Prize.*

In memory of Mr. E. J. Woodhouse, Late Economic Botanist and Principal of Sabour Agricultural College, who was killed in action in France in 1917, a biennial prize in the form of a silver medal and books of a combined value of Rs. 100/- will be awarded to the writer of the best essay on a subject of botanical interest to be selected from the list noted below. The length of the essay should not exceed 4,000 words. The competition is open to graduates of Indian Universities and to Diploma-holders and Licentiates of recognised Agricultural Colleges in India who are not more than 30 years of age on the date of submission of their essays. Papers should be forwarded to the Director of Agriculture, Bihar and Orissa, Patna, before November 1st, 1935. Failing papers of sufficient merit no award will be made. Essays must be typewritten on one side of paper only.

1. *Intergeneric hybrids and their importance to Agriculture.*
2. *The problem of rust of wheat in India.*
3. *The constancy of agricultural and Botanical characters of paddy and their suitability for being used in a scheme of classification.*
4. *Rotation of crops in relation to the eradication of weeds.*

2. *Public Service Commission (India).*

In December next or as early as possible thereafter, a section will be made of :—(*a*) Eight candidates for appointment as Special Class Apprentices in the Mechanical Engineering and Transportation (Power) Departments and 4 Special Class Apprentices in the Electrical Engineering Department of the Superior Revenue Establishment of State Railways under the regulations published in Part I of the *Gazette of India*, dated the 13th July, 1935, under Railway Department (Railway Board) Notifications Nos. E.-35-R. R.-71 and E.-35-R. R.-71-I respectively. (*b*) Fifteen candidates for appointment as Apprentices for training in Ordnance and Clothing Factories in India under the rules published in Part I of the *Gazette of India*, dated the 13th July, 1935, under Army Department Notification No. 417, as follows :—

(1)	For the Gun Carriage Factory, Jubbulpore ...	3
(2)	For the Rifle Factory, Ishapore	5
(3)	For the Gun and Shell Factory, Cossipore ...	5
(4)	For the Clothing Factory, Shahjahanpur ...	2

The selection will be a combined one for the purpose of selecting candidates for appointment as Apprentices to either of the above-mentioned Departments, for one or both of which a candidate may apply to be admitted. If he wishes to be a candidate for both he should state this on his application form. He need send in only one application form. He will be required to pay the fees mentioned in the rules and regulations once only and will not be required to pay separate fees for each Department for which he applies. If he proves successful as a candidate for both Departments he will ordinarily be assigned to that Department for which he expressed a preference at the time of his application, but the Government of India reserve power to assign him to either of the Department for which he is a candidate, if, in their opinion, the exigencies of the public service render this desirable. The qualifications of candidates and the method of selection are contained in Part II of the relevant rules and regulations. Candidates must have been born not earlier than the 2nd August, 1916. This age limit can in no case be relaxed. Any person who has appeared, or intends to appear, at an examination the passing of which will render him eligible for selection may also apply. His application will be accepted provisionally if he is eligible in all other respects, and he will be required to furnish to the Public Service Commission, before the date on which the test prescribed in the Rules and Regulations is held, proof of having passed such qualifying examination. Every candidate must apply on the prescribed form of application so as to reach the authority mentioned in Regulation 6 each of the Railway Board's Notifications and in Rule 8 of the Army Department Notification *on or before the 16th September, 1935*, accompanied by the necessary documents. No application received after that date will be considered. No allegation that an application form, or letter respecting such form, has been lost or delayed in the post will be considered unless the person making such allegation produces a Post Office registration receipt or a certificate of posting. Candidates who delay their applications, or their requests for forms, until a late date will do so at their own risk. Copies of the Rules and Regulations, Application Form, etc., can be obtained from the Local Governments and Political Officers or Agents. The Government of India reserve the power to modify the arrangements and rates of pay indicated in the Rules and Regulations according to the requirements of the services.

3. *Leiden University.*

S. J. Visser, LL.D., who died in 1919, bequeathed his fortune to Leiden University on the condition that the revenue should be utilized in order to promote the study of international public and private law: he specially stipulated that every three years a sum of at least 5,000 Dutch guilders should be destined for an international prize-subject. Accordingly, the Law of Faculty of Leiden University the following prize-subject:

The Legatum Visserianum invites essays on the question how the idea of an international police force can be developed with a view to the formation of an international air force, having regard, in particular, to the legal, military, and technical aspects of the subject. Essays should be based upon a critical survey of the present position of the problem, as it appears from legal, technical and military publications, and from actual schemes, framed by governments, parliaments, or expert private associations and should, if possible, be accompanied by draft clauses of treaties, regulations, instructions, etc.

Essays may be submitted by individuals or groups of two or three persons, provided that they belonged to different professions, *e.g.*, by a jurist, a soldier, and an engineer, or by similar groups.

The answer shall be typewritten in German, English, French or Dutch and must arrive in the hands of the Dean of the Law Faculty of Leiden University before March 1st 1937; the manuscript shall bear a motto, that must be reproduced on a sealed envelope joined to the manuscript and containing both the name and the address of the author or the authors.

Prizes will be adjudged to an amount of 5,000 Dutch guilders to those answers which, in the opinion of the Faculty, will deserve the reward.

After the prizes being adjudged the Dean, in a session of the Faculty, will open the sealed envelopes corresponding to the answers to which prizes have been awarded, and will inform the author or the authors about the Faculty's decision; the other envelopes will be burned during the same session.

4. *University of Mysore.*

(Notification No. 2589, dated the 29th July 1935)

The Navinam Ramanujacharya Sanskrit Prize.

1. A prize of the value of Rs. 120 founded by *Dharmapravritha Dharmadhikari* Navinam Ramanujacharya will be awarded by the University Council for the best essay in Sanskrit on any one of the following subjects:—

    1. Kavisamaya.
    2. The Conception of Atman in Indian Darsanas.

2. Graduates of any Indian University who have taken the B.A. Degree not earlier than 1925, are eligible to compete for the prize, but no one who has already won it may compete again.

3. The essay must be the result of the personal investigations of the author and must contain clear evidence of independent and original research.

4. Each candidate should state generally in an introductory note, and specifically in foot-notes, the extent to which he has relied upon different sources of information and the portion which he claims as his original work. If any portion of the work was done in collaboration or under guidance, the nature and extent of such collaboration or guidance must be stated clearly.

5. Each candidate must forward two copies of his essay together with a statement as to when and where the work was carried out.

6. The essay should have a motto instead of the writer's name and should be accompanied by a sealed cover containing the name of the candidate, the year in which he passed the highest University Examination, the name of the University, his post office address and a declaration that the essay sent by him is his own *bona fide* composition.

The essay should be forwarded to the Registrar, University of Mysore, so that it may reach him on or before the 30th June 1936.

By order

V. Gopalaswmi Ayengar,
Registrar.

Just Published.

BRIHAT BANGA

(*A History of the Greater Bengal*)

BY

DR. DINESH CH. SEN, D.LITT. (HON.), RAI BAHADUR.

Calcutta University Press.)

The following is an abridged list of the contents of ' Brihat Banga ' (Greater Bengal), the latest work of Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen published by Calcutta University. The book is in Bengali complete in 1400 pages of 8vo size and has 300 illustrations with a word-index of 64 pages. The author gives a comprehensive survey of the contents of the book in a long preface which also deals with many new points. Tracing the history of Greater Bengal from prehistoric epochs the work closes with an account of the Battle of Plassey and its sequel. Among the illustrations many are novel and original including portraits of Gupta kings, specimens of artistic works prepared by Bengali women, paintings of Nashkaris and Patuas, reproductions of indigenous art exhibited in mats and muslins of various artistic poses of men and women, sankirtan scenes of the 17th century, carvings on wood and stone, portraits of Vaishnava saints from the time of Chaitanya Deva to comparatively recent times, of the poet Ramprasad Sen and his wife, of Mohanlal and Jaynarayan Ghoshal and many other men of historic fame such as Dipankara, Mahabir, Rupa and Sanatana, etc., with political history as its background. The book lays particular stress on social evolutions, and literary, religious and artistic movements in the different periods of Bengal's national life. There are special chapters which deal in detail with the rise and decline of the great Buddhist universities at Nalanda, Vikramasila and Odantapur, of the tols of

Nadia, of the new school of Logic, with the history of Tantriks and Tantrikism, lives of prominent Buddhist, Jaina and Vaishnava leaders, the growth, development and excellence of Dacca muslin, shell and other industries, and various other features of the cultural and economic life of the people.

Contents.

CHAP. I.

Aryan settlers in the Gangetic plain—The Ganges as distinguished from the other great Indian rivers—Destruction of historical records in Greater Bengal—Brahmanic displeasure—Buddhist images worshipped as Hindu icons—Oppressions on Jainas and Sat Dharmists—Glories of Eastern India—The twelve sub-lords in pre-historic times—Provinces where Bengali spoken and used as court-language—Cultural unity in Eastern India—A comparatively small area rich in great men—Ancient history—Karna—Jarasandha—Paundra Vasudeva—Naraka of Pragjyotisha—other rulers—Identifications of place-names—Manipur, Chedi and Tippera—' Nitai-lek-pak '—The Chasa Nagri—Bhima's march to eastern countries—Historical material preserved by lower social strata—Druhyu in Tippera—Hostility towards Krishna and influence of Sivaits—Kshatriya standard of ethics followed by Jarasandha—Extirpation of Kshatriyas—Jaina influence—Changes in religious ideals—Superiority of Brahmins in the scriptures—Restrictions about food and hard laws against women—Conquest of Ceylon by Vijaya—Identification of Simhapura—Naggadvipa and Mahiladvipa—Nrisimha Malla's stone-inscription—Linguistic similarity—Conquest of Ceylon illustrated at Ajanta—Gauda Brahmins—Importance of the conquest of Ceylon.

CHAP. II.

The Historical Age—The advent of the Buddha—Jataka stories and events in Buddha's life—The Sangha—Sariputta's trouble—Buddha's advice—References to Buddha in the Divine Comedy and Marco Polo.

CHAP. III.

Non-Aryans admitted to Aryan society—Yavanas, Mlechchhas, Sakas, etc., as members of Indo-Aryan community—Orthodox views and popular beliefs—the question of purity of blood—Jainism—Differences between Jainism and Buddhism—The 24 Tirthankaras—Jaina scriptures and literature—The Ramayana—a protest against asceticism—Continuity of Indian history—The date of the Mahabharata—a criticism of European views—Genealogy of Magadhan kings—Nandas—Alexander's expedition—Mahapadma Nanda—The story of Chanakya

—Discussion of date—Chandragupta's Army—Megasthenes' Account —Alexander and the legend of Chandi—The Arthasastra of Kautilya —Chanakya in the Mudrarakshasa—His connection with Bengal— Chandragupta's death by fasting.

CHAP. IV.

Bindusara and Asoka—Genealogical accounts in the Divyavadana and Mahavamsa—Discrepancies explained—Legends regarding Asoka's assassination of brothers, ministers, etc., Chandasoka and Dharmasoka —Upagupta—Ethics of Asoka and the evidence of the Mahabharata —Politics not to be confounded with ethics—The Arthasastra and the Ramayana—a comparative study from the ethical standpoint—Hindu and Greek politics—Condemnation of Kautalya by Bana Bhatta— Asoka's edicts forbidding slaughter of animals and scandal against other religions—Hunting stopped—Mercy to criminals—Royal accessibility—Identifications of places—Mahendra—Asoka's charity—His remorse as expressed in the 13th Rock-edict.

CHAP. V.

Bengalees—the true heirs of Magadhan culture—Greek influence on Hindus and *vice-versa*—The Mauryas after Asoka—Causes of the downfall of the Mauryas—Curtailment of Brahmanical authority, forbidding of animal sacrifices, uniformity of punishment, weakness of Asoka's descendants—Decline of Kshatriyas—The Agnikul—The Sunga dynasty, its history—The Kanva and Andhra dynasties—The Raghus—The dynasty of the Pauravas—Siva *vs.* Buddha—Similarity in ideals between Buddhism and Saivism—The new gift of the Saivas —Three great virtues—Saivism as a harbinger of the Vaishnava message of love.

CHAP. VI.

The early Andhra kings—Supremacy of the Andhras—Rise of the Sakas—Kanishka, Huvishka and others—Adoption of Indian titles and religion—Revival of Brahmanism—Ascendancy of Saivism in Eastern India—Chandra Varman—The Gupta dynasty—Its early history—The Lichchhavis—Rajarshi Samudragupta (Vikramaditya II)— Kalidasa, his court-poet (?)—Batris Simhasana—The extent of Vikramaditya II's power—His conquests—Lyre-type coins—A list of Gupta Kings—The later history of the Guptas—The successors of the Lichchhavis—The 'Aditya' title—Titles conferred by the Guptas—Sasanka Gupta—Assassination of Rajyavardhana—Oppression on Buddhists by Sasanka and his remorse—Minor kings of the Gupta dynasty—Yasovarman—Aditya Sena—Bara Kamta—Jayapida of Kashmir and his travel to Gauda—The Gauda king and Lalitaditya of Kashmir—Gauda body-guard to Kashmir—Destruction of the image of Ramasvamin.

CHAP. VII.

Art and Literature of the Mauryan and Gupta ages—The art of the primitive man—Art of Singanpur, Mohenjodaro, Vikram Khola—Mahabharata evidence on art—Place of an artist in Aryan society—Figures on Asoka railings—Greek influence on Indian art—Bengal, the 'Picture-Hall' of Magadha—Rules for making images—Canons attributed to Sukracharya—Freedom given to artists—Image of man not to be drawn—Pictures of brides and bridegrooms—Pre-Mauryan art—Mohenjodaro—Accounts of Chinese travellers—Relation with foreign kingdoms—Indian art of 5000 B.C.—Exchange of thought and culture with people outside India—the debt to Greece—Indian influences on the Greeks—Cave-paintings of Ajanta.

CHAP. VIII.

The Pala Empire—The Matsya Nyaya—Taranath's account—Gopala and his ancestors—Stories about the origin of the Palas—Social reforms—Dharma Pala—His date—His feudatory chiefs—His world-conquest—Titles of royal officers—Dharmapala's charity and the extent of his empire—Devapala—A request from the king of Java—Vigrahapala, Narayanapala, Rajyapala, Gopala II—Empire gradually reduced in size—Mahipala—Nayapala—Karna's defeat—Vigrahapala III—Mahipala II—Surapala—Divvoka, the Kaivarta leader—Ramapala His Samanta-chakra—The qualities of Bhima—Conquests of Ramapala—Successors of Ramapala.

CHAP. IX.

Other royal dynasties—The Chandra dynasty—The stone-inscription of Mahendradeva—The Stat-Vaidyakula panjika of Jaysen Biswas—The Man dynasty—Lau Sen—Historical materials—Kshemendra, Indra Datta, Bhattaghati, Rajamala—The importance given to learning and the status of the Kedara Misra—Darbha Pani—The age of scholarship—The Gaudiya School—Jaydeva—Scholarly Bengali—Social revolution—Bauddha Kula Pradipa—Desertion of Bengal by Brahmins—Buddhist monasteries—Teachers during Hiuen Tsang's visit—Sculpture and Fine Arts—Dharmaganja—Vikramasila—Teachers in the time of Dipankara.

CHAP. X.

Buddhism and its influence—Dipankara—Foreign travel—King Lah-Lama Yeasi of Tibet and the king of Garwal—Chang Chub—Dipankara's work in Tibet—India in the absence of Dipankara—Padmaprabha—Musical instruments—The Bengalis as preachers of religion in the far north eastern countries—Yaksha—Santa Rakshit—Padma Nabha—Kamala Sila—Bengalis in Tibet—Last remains of Buddhism—Sahajiyas—The Bhairavi circle of the Tantrikas—Views of the monk Losu—Neḍā Neḍis—Marriage among Neḍā Neḍis—Influence of Bodhi dharma on Bauls, Sahajiyas, etc.—Chaitanya "Sunya murti"—Tols of Brahmins—Dvara Pandits—Traces of Buddhist colleges.

CHAP. XI.

Scriptures, folk-lore, arts and scholarship in the Pala Period——Nagasena—Minandra—Chandra Gomin—Santa Rakshit—Fame of Bengal as a seat of learning—Tols of Navadvipa—Students from all parts of India—Professors of tols—European logic—The Old system of Gautama and the Navya Nyaya—Scholarship in Sanskrit—Navya Nyaya—Illustrations—Fitness for admission as a student—‘ Hill in fire ”—Gangesa Siromani—Vasudeva Sarvabhauma—The fable of his friendship with Chaitanya—Durghata Vritti of Saran—Jurisprudence—Srishti Dhar—Arya Sapta sati—Hari Bhakti Bikas—Kullika Bhatta—Astrology and Astronomy—Medical works—Lexicography—Logic—Poetical aspect of inscriptions—Titles of Acharya and Saraswati—The lofty and sturdy character of Brahmins—The New School of Brahminism—The Sena kings as its supporters—Folk-stories and regions outside the influence of the new school—“Alapinis” or female story-tellers—Lyrical element in the stories—Tantric influence—Love for co-wife—Buddhist influence—Sivait influence—Giti Kathas and folk-tales—Romantic element.

CHAP. XII.

Fine art and sculpture in the Gupta and Pala periods—Influence of Bengal art on the Javanese art—Oriya art—a branch of Bengal art—Country-life and city-life of Bengal—Singanpur—Mohenjodaro—Artistic culture of Bengali women—Jaypuri ‘ Kalam ’—Patuas of Kalighat—Dance among Bengali women—Kanthas or bed-sheets prepared by women—Terra-cotta figures—Buddhist figures gradually changed—Buddha, Siva and Vasudeva images compared—Toilet of the Gopis—Jadunandan Das—Specimens of old ornaments—Pictorial art—Sankirtan scenes—Various artistic poses of Bengali women—The art of dancing in Bengal—Rai Besi.

CHAP. XIII.

Social history—Adi Sur—Claims advanced by castes not always true—Indiscriminate choice in marriage—Pancha Gaudesvara—Army of nine lakhs—Bengali modes of music—Greater Bengal reduced in area—sea-voyage forbidden—Gauridan and early marriage—The Sena rulers—a question of date—Kaulinya—No caste except Brahmins and Sudras—Quarrel between Suvarna Baniks and Ballala—Favour shown to Kaivarttas and other castes—The poet Dhoyi—Budan Misra—Enjoyment of life—The Gita Govinda translated—Pandits in the court of Lakshmanasena—Reaction against Buddhism—Sexual morality disappearing—Abnormal poses and figures—Corruptions in court—Sekh Subhodaya—Excess of image-making—Idolatry not uprooted—Caste-system made rigid and its effect.—Development of Bengal art—History of the Conquest of Bengal by Musalmans—Why did not the Bengalis join in the struggle—Estrangement from the throne—General panic due to introduction of Kaulinya—Why did Baktiyar attack Nudia instead of Gaur—His mistake—Where did Lakhmana Sena go? Genealogical account of Jayasena Biswas—The theory of a second Ballala.

CHAP. XIV.

The arts of the Hindus destroyed—Their great trial—Art and sculpture in the post-Sena period—Image of Mother—City of Bangala—Straw-roofed houses—Wall-paintings—'Tangi Badi'—House of Sarwarjan Miah—Fine mat of Sachair—Other objects of art—Espionage—Siva as conceived by the rustics—Siva as a peasant—Sun-worship and the influence of Tamil on Bengal—Tamil influence on Saiva and Sakta religions—Appar Svami and Manick Vashara—Tantric literature of Bengal—Caste-system and social rules—Medical science and physicians—'Romtha.'—Foreign opinions on Kulinism—Good points—Polygamy—Opinions of European writers—Love of independence in Bengal—Classification of Kulins—Caste of the Surs, Senas and the so-called lunar dynasties.

CHAP. XV.

History of the Pathan rulers—The caste of Ganesha—Zamindars of Bhaturiya—The Bhaduri family—Why did Jadu become a Muslim convert—Murders or deaths in tragic circumstances of Afghan kings—The untamed tigers of Bengal—Financial prosperity of the Hindus under Afghan rule—Indian artists from non-Aryan population—No encouragement to art by Pathan kings—Oppressions of whimsical administrators—Influence of a foreign language—Villages keeping up old traditions and pursuits—Artistic works—Tragic events not to be recorded—Orthodox society and Vaishnavism—Questions arising out of intercourse between Hindus and Moslems—Popular movements—Madhavendra Puri and other Vaishnava leaders—Gaudiya Vaishnavism—The five great principles—Chaitanya's life in songs—The Padavali of the Mahajans—Chaitanya and his associates—State of the country before Chaitanya—Emotional religion in an age of scholarship—The Vaishnava community after Chaitanya's passing away—Three centres—Srinivas, Narottama, etc.—King Hambir—Brahmin disciples of a Kayastha guru—Spiritual leadership—Free love—Sahajiya ideal of love—Saint Durga Prasad—Eastern culture, its high aims—The literature of the Sahajiyas.

CHAP. XVI.

The Revolt of the Pathans—Pathan and Mughal rule compared—Various topics on Pratapaditya—Genealogical works of the Ghataks—Kedar Rai and Chand Rai—Karimulla—Mukundaram of Bhulua—Lakshmana Manikya—Why did Bengal offer opposition to the Mughals?—Policy of Akbar—Portuguese pirates—'Munda mala' and 'Turuk Kata'—Raja Sitaram Rai—Later Muhammadan rulers—Culture and education—Bengal's independence and revolt against Delhi and Agra—Condition of Hindu Art—'Barduari Masjid'—Aurangzeb discourages art and music—The Rajput Art—Kangra Kalam—Idea of a universal religion and the Sahajiyas—Balaram Hadi—Baba Aul—The so-called lower classes of Bengal—Mathematical knowledge—Knowledge of the Tantras among the Sahajiyas—Culture of music—Female education— Merchants—Ship-building—Shell-trade—Textile

Muslin—Scholarship—Knowledge of the Vedas—Fort William College, etc.—Bengalis in the Mughal Period.

CHAP. XVII.

The growth and development of Bengali—Three periods of its history—Brajabuli and Bengali—Bauddha Doha o Gan—Bengali as a Prakrit—Pre-Sanskritic Age—Literature—Manuals of Dharma Puja, Giti Kathas. Folktales, etc.—Aphorisms—Mangal poems—Sivait poems—Krishna Dhamali—Chandi Mangal—Bengali under Sanskritic influence—Change of ideals under Brahmanic influence—Encouragement to Bengali by Muhammadan kings—Recensionists of the Mahabharata—Ramananda Ghosh, an incarnation of Buddha—He and other recensionists of the Ramayana—Bhagavata and other Puranas—Gita Govinda—Literature of translation—Songs of Manasa Devi—Poets of Chandi Mangal—Dharma Mangal—Chaitanya-period—Songs of Chandi Das and other Vaishnava poets—Mathur songs—The Age of Krishnachandra and later—Bharatchandra—Ramprasad—Krishnakamal Goswami—Kaviwalas—Isvara Gupta—Agamani Gan—Gopal Ure—Dasarathi, Ramnidhi Gupta.

CHAP. XVIII (*Supplementary*.)

Provincial Histories—TIPPERA STATE—Rajmala—a chronicle of Tippera—Tripura—Royal ensigns of flag, moon and trident—Folk-songs—Emperor of Gaur and Ratna Fa near Jamir Khan's fort—Dharma Manikya—Murder of generals—Barada Khat conquered—Destruction of caste among soldiers by a royal trick, 'Kathi chhoa'—Submission of naked kukis—Quarrel with Hossain Shah—Conquest of Chittagong and Arakan—Successive defeats of the Tippera army—Defeat of Kara Khan—Human sacrifice forbidden—A gold image of Bhubaneswari of 2 mds. of weight—Vijaya Manikya—Hill tribes of Khasia, Jaintia and Sylhet submit to Vijaya—Vijaya's expedition against Eastern Bengal—Tippera army expelled from Chittagong—Other rulers—Uday Manikya—Jay Manikya—Amara Manikya—Conquest of Bhulua—Fatekhan of Sylhet made a captive—Conquest of Bakla—Amar Manikya's suicide—Rajdhar Manikya—Bengali translation of the Mahabharat—Kalyan Manikya—Ram Manikya and others.

PRAGJYOTISHPURA—Pre-historic age—Ban-lingam—The Historical age of Indrapala—Dharmapala—Boundaries—Harjar Varman—Bana Mal and Ratna Pala—Pathan attacks—Reduction of the Hindu Empire—Conquest of Kamta—The AHOM Kings—Defeat of the Pathans—Pratapsimha and his successors—Vaishnava Revolt—From Gaurinath to Purandar—Art and sculpture—KOCH BIHAR—From Brahma Pala to Bhava Chandra—Siva Simha, Chandrasimha, Visyasimha—Later chiefs—Raja Viro Narayan—His successors—KACHAR (Heramba)—Kings tracing their descent from Mahabharata heroes—genealogy—SYLHET—Inscriptions—old shrines—Ancient history

—Copper-plate grant of Kesab—Gauda Govinda—Muhammadan Conquest—1088—The Amils Nawab Harekrishna—Ita—Pratapgada—Laur—Arts—Cannons—MANIPUR—Rajas of Mitai—Nara Simha—Nabin Simha—MIDNAPUR—Chiefs of Midnapur—Raja Gandharva Sri Chandan Pal—and others—BANA VISHNUPUR—Adi Malla—and others. History closing with Radha Ballav—Bhulua (Noakhali)——The SUNDARBANS—Antiquities—Mention of the Sundarbans in the Puranic literature—Sundarbans in the Pala period—In the Sena period—Under Muhammadan rule—Some Rajas and Zamindars of Bengal—MURSHIDABAD—KRISHNAGAR, BHOWAL—MAYNAGAD — PUTIA — NATORE — CASSIMBAZAR—DIGHAPATIA — DINAJPUR—DACCA.

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Latest Publications

Brihat Banga, Vols. I and II (*with 304 illustrations including 33 tri-colour blocks*), by Rai Dineschandra Sen, Bahadur, B.A., D.Litt. Royal 8vo pp. 1215 + lxxvi.

A History of Brajabuli Literature (*with* 7 *plates*), by Mr. Sukumar Sen, M.A. Royal 8vo pp. 600 + xv.

The Philosophy of the Upanishads, by Mr. S. C. Chakravarti, M.A., B.L. Royal 8vo pp. 274 + xv.

Aspects of Bengali Society, by Dr. Tamonashchandra Das Gupta, M.A., Ph.D. Royal 8vo pp. 371 + xl.

University Regulations (*latest edition,* corrected up to 15th August, 1935). Demy 8vo pp. 602 + 64.

Kant's Philosophy in General, by Mr. Humayun Z. A. Kabir, M.A. (Oxon.). Demy 8vo pp. 90 + cl. Rs. 5.

Dina Chandidas, by Mr. Manindramohan Bose, M.A. D/Crown 8vo pp. 326. Rs. 5.

Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. XXVII. Royal 8vo 400. Rs. 6.

Books in the Press

SEPTEMBER, 1935.

1. Rights and Duties of Indian Citizen (*Kamala Lectures*, 1925), by the Rt. Honourable Srinivasa Sastri.
2. Rationalism in Practice (*Kamala Lectures*, 1932), by Dr. R. P. Paranjpye.
3. Towards a Systematic Study of the Vedanta, by Dr. Sarojkumar Das, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.).
4. Dynastic History of Northern India, Vol. II, by Dr. Hemchandra Ray, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.).
5. Water Supplies in Bengal, by Dr. Nisikanta Ray, M.B.
6. Studies in the History of Bengal Subah,—1740-1770, by Mr. Kalikinkar Dutt, M.A.
7. Paniniya Siksha, by Mr. Manomohan Ghosh, M.A.
8. General Catalogue of Bengali Manuscripts, edited by Mr. Manindramohan Bose, M.A.
9. Patua Sangit, edited by G. S. Dutt, Esq., I.C.S.
10. Pramanachandrika—English translation, by Dr. S. K. Maitra, M.A., Ph.D.
11. Studies in Tantras, by Dr. P. C. Bagchi, M.A., D.Lit.
12. Krishi-Bijnan, Vols. I and II, by the late Rai Rajeswar Dasgupta, Bahadur.
13. Progressism (*Readership Lectures*), by Prof. E. L. Schaub.
14. Prasthan Veda, by Madhusudan Saraswati, edited by Mahamahopadhyay Gurucharan Tarka-Darshana-tirtha.
15. Vyaptipanchaka, by Pt. Anantakumar Tarkatirtha.
16. Persian Influence on Hindi, by Mr. Ambikaprasad Bajpai.

17. Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. XXVIII.
18. Nayamanjari, edited by Pandit Panchanan Tarkabagis.
19. Brahman Roman Catholic Sambad, edited by Prof. Surendranath Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B.Lit. (Oxon.).
20. Girishchandra—His Mind and Art (*in Bengali*), by Mr. Kumudbandhu Sen.
21. University Questions for the year 1930.
22. Khandakhadyaka—Sanskrit Text, edited by Mr. Prabodhchandra Sengupta, M.A.
23. The Spherical Trigonometry, by Mr. Pramathanath Mitra. M.A.
24. Tort by Animals, by Mr. Nirmalkumar Sen, M.A.
25. Evolution of the Khalsa, by Mr. Indubhushan Banerjee, M.A.
26. Buddhist Philosophy of Universal Flux, by Dr. Satkari Mukerjee, M.A., Ph.D.
27. Foundations of Living Faith, (*Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghosh Lectures*), by Prof. Haridas Bhattacharyya, M.A.
28. Studies in Post-Sankara Dialectics by Dr. Asutosh Bhattacharyya, M.A., Ph.D.
29. Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal, by Dr. Binaychandra Sen, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.).
30. Praghaitihasik Mahenjodaro, by Mr. Kunjagobinda Goswami, M.A.
31. Rabirasmi (in Bengali), by Mr. Charu Bandyopadhyay, M.A.
32. Problem of Minorities, by Mr. Dhirendranath Sen, M.A., Ph.D.
33. Some Published Papers, by Sir U. N. Brahmachari, Kt., M.A., M.D., Ph.D., F.A.S.B.
34. Industry in India by Dr. P. N. Banerjea, M.A., D.Sc. (Lond.), Barrister-at-Law.
35. Studies in Shelley, by Mr. Amiyakumar Sen, M.A.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS

II. ANCIENT INDIAN TEXTS

Old Brahmi Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves, by Prof. Benimadhab Barua, M.A., D.Lit. Royal 8vo pp. 324. Rs. 7-8.

A critical edition of fourteen ancient Brahmi inscriptions and a table of Brahmi alphabet, the inscriptions including the well-known Hathigumpha inscription of King Kharavela. A comprehensive work which contains exhaustive references to all previous publications on the subject, and is calculated to create a real landmark for the new readings, and especially for the notes dealing with the personal history of Kharvela of Orissa, his place in history, and his imperishable works of art and architecture in the rough-hewn Orissan caves on the Udayagiri and Khandagiri Hills.

III. INDIAN ART AND ICONOGRAPHY.

Vishnudharmottara, by Dr. Stella Kramrisch, Ph.D., *second and revised edition.* Royal 8vo pp. 130. 1928. Rs. 3.

It contains one of the oldest and most exhaustive treatises on ancient Indian painting, its technique, subject-matter and form.

Brahmanical Gods in Burma (A chapter of Indian Art and Iconography), by Niharranjan Ray, M.A. Royal 8vo pp. 106, with 23 plates, 1932. Rs. 2-4.

This monograph is an outcome of the studies and reseorches made by the author in the domain of Burmese Art, Archaeology and History. The materials were collected by him during the archaeological tours that he had made throughout Burma in 1927 and 1929. He has mode a detailed analytical study of the numerous Brahmanical images scattered all over the Peninsula and has tried to bring out fully their iconographic significance and their bearing upon early Indo-Burmese historical and cultural relations.

IV. HISTORY.

1. ANCIENT INDIA.

Chronology of Ancient India (From the times of the Rig-Vedic King Divodāsa to Chandragupta Maurya with glimpses into the Political History of the period), by Sitanath Pradhan, M.Sc., Ph.D., Brihaspati. Royal 8vo pp. 291+30. 1927. Rs. 6.

In this extremely interesting and erudite work on the Chronology and Political history of Vedic and Buddhist India, enormous masses of evidence derived from Vedic, Epic, Puranic, Buddhistic, Jain, Epigraphic and other sources have been collected, compared and contrasted. Dr. Pradhan has at last discovered the long-expected thread through the bewildering labyrinth of Vedic Chronology and has handled the question of Nanda-Sisunāga-Pradyota-Bimbisārian Chronology and political history perhaps with the most accurate critical skill and precision. This pioneer work, completed in 1921, was submitted to the University of Calcutta as his Doctorate thesis and contains entirely new findings in almost every page of the book and the criticisms of the positions of Pargiter, Macdonell, Keith, Tilak, K. P. Jayaswal, Abinash Chandra Das, D. R. Bhandarkar, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Fleet, etc., reflect a high credit on the author. It is an invaluable and indispensable companion and guide to all students, professors and lovers of Ancient Indian History and Culture.

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee—' An erudite thesis,' ' of no small credit,' ' of much excellence,' ' of special excellence,' ' extremely gratifying to note,' ' such a learned thesis,' ' has thrown unexpected yet welcome light on the political history of the Pre-Asokan Period,' ' original research of unquestionable merit,' ' appraised by the investigators of the first rank,' etc., etc.

Mm. Dr. Ganganath Jha, M.A., D.Litt., Vice-Chancellor, Allahabad University—" It is refreshing to find that the writer has not * * been slow to strike out new lines for himself and examine theories which had hitherto been regarded as almost sacrosanct."

Dr. M. Winternitz, Ph.D., Prague, Czechoslovakia—" The ancient chronology of India is a thorny subject, and the book will no doubt, evoke much criticism. But the author has brought together valuable data from a vast amount of literature which will remain useful, even if the chronology may not be accepted by scholars in many cases."

T. Jolly, Professor of Sanskrit, Wurzburg, Germany—" This is a very learned work, abounding in new theories and discussions of old ones and in original Sanskrit quotations. The author has found that most of the Kings and Rishis of the Rigveda are mentioned in the Epics and the Puranas, etc., as well, and has based a new chronology of the Rigvedic Period on this observation. His genealogies of Indian dynasties are very interesting."

Dr. L. D. Barnett, Ph.D., London.—"Mr. Pradhan's object is to correct and as far as possible to bring into synchronistic connection the ancient pedigrees of Kings and others, which are handed down in Vedic, Epic and Puranic literature.* * * He deals accordingly with the Vedic Divodâsa, his contemporaries, the Aikṣvāka Daśaratha etc. * * * and he then essays to determine the succession in Magadha from Bimbisara to Chandragupta. On the basis of these conclusions and reckoning an average of 28 years for a generation he fixes the Mahābhārata war at *c.* 1152 B.C. confirming the result by astronomical calculations, and makes *c.* 1500 B.C. the starting point of the later Vedic period, * * * He moreover demolishes the Vedic Chronology of Dr. A. C. Das and even criticizes unfavourably the astronomical arguments set forth by the late Lokamanya Tilak in his Orion—which shows much courage and independence. His work shows immense industry and ingenuity and there is certainly "something in it." * * * The attempt to adjust and harmonise the traditional pedigrees is worth making and Mr. Pradhan's essay is an energetic step in that direction.

Dr. L. D. Barnett (again)—" The book ' Chronology of Ancient India ' seems to me to be a remarkably able work and its general conclusions are reasonable and probable, though, naturally there may be some difference of opinion on some points."

Prof. Vanamali Chakravarti, M.A.—" Your work would do credit to any European savant working in a first class European university. * * The honour of writing the first scientific book on Vedo-Puranic Chronology belongs to you and not to Pargiter * * * I note with great pleasure your happy identification of the Rigvedic Rishi Mudgala (Rv. X, 102) with the husband of Indrasena, the daughter of King Nala of Niṣadha; and of Divodâsa, king of Kāsi with Atithigva Divodâsa of the Vedas, who together with the Aikṣvāka Daśaratha, quelled the Dâsa King Sambara; your resolution of the Ikṣvāku dynasty from Daśaratha downwards, into two branches pointing out that kings mentioned just after Hiraṇyanābha Kausalya, were the descendants of the Sravasti King Lava is a masterpiece in the reconstruction of Ancient Indian History; your determination of the date of the great Bhârata battle at about the middle of the twelfth century B. C. and of events of the Râmâyaṇa as occurring about three hundred years earlier would provide the future historian with source to build up ancient Indian Chronology. * * * Your assignment of Vedic Janaka and Yâjñavalkya to five generations after Srīkrishṇa and Arjuna seems beyond challenge. Your attempt to prove that a portion of the Deccan was occupied by the Rigvedic Aryans, and that Anga, Kośala, Magadha, Videha, etc., were colonized by them rather early, your explanation of the mythology of Ahalyā and Indra, your emendation of not a few individual errors in some of the names of Puranic kings, notably in the name ' Abhijit,' your bold and well-established finding that the Harivaṁśa does contain wrong synchronism about Brahmadatta and Pratipa, and that the Purāṇas are wrong in making Kṛta of Dvimîḍha's line, the pupil of Hiraṇyanābha Kausalya—these and many other points will be of absorbing interest to scholars. I immensely enjoy your courageous refutation of ' the Orion ' as well as of Mr. A. C. Das's geological antiquity of the Rigvedic period which might be based on N. B. Pavjee's book ' Aryavartic Home.' In the post-Vedic period, your identification of Śiśunāga with Nandivardhana and of Kākavarṇa witr Mahā-Nandin is really difficult to reject. I am sure no honest historian will be able in future to pass by your great production."

Asoka (*Carmichael Lectures, 1923*), by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S.B. Second edition, revised and enlarged. Demy 8vo pp. 428. 1932. Rs. 5.

In this book the author has set forth his views about the Boddhist monarch after a careful ond systematic study for a quarter of a century not only of the inscriptions of Asoka but also of the valuable translations and notes on these records by distinguished scholars in the field of Ancient Indion History.

Dr. Truman Michelson says in *Jour. Amer. Ori. Sec.*, Vol. 46, pp. 258-59 :—

> " In this connection it may be observed that the notes on the translations are ordinarily very full, so that even the publication of the new edition of C.I.I. will not render this part of Bhandarkar's work superfluous; and it cannot be denied that occasionally he has made real contributions in the interpretation (*e.g.*, the sense of *samāja*)."

Dr. S. K. Belvalkar says in *An. Bhan. Ori. Res. Ins.*, Vol. VII. p. 169. :—

> " A careful perusal of the book enables one to visualise the pious Monarch and his manifold religious and administrative activities to a much better extent than had been hitherto possible with the Aśokan literature already in the field."

Political History of Ancient India (From the Accession of Parikshit to the Extinction of the Gupta Dynasty), by Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D. Third Edition, *Revised and Enlarged.* Royal 8vo pp. xx+469. 1932. Rs. 7-8.

Dr. Raychaudhuri's work in the domain of Indology is characterised by a rare sobriety of judgment and by a constant reference to original sources and this makes his contributions specially valuable. We have here probably the first attempt on scientific lines to sketch the political history of India including the pre-Buddhistic period from about the 9th century B. C. and the work is one of great importance to students of Indian history. The revised edition embodies the results of the most recent researches in the subject. A new feature of this edition is the insertion in certain chapters of introductory verses from literature to show that poets and sages of Ancient India were not altogether unmindful of the political vicissitudes through which their country passed.

Prof. J. Jolly, Würzburg :—".........What an enormous mass of evidence has been collected and discussed in this work, an important feature of which is the quotation of the original texts along with their translation which makes it easy to control the conclusions arrived at. The ancient geography not less than the ancient history of India has been greatly furthered by your researches and much new light has been thrown on some of the most vexed problems of Indian Archæology and Chronology........."

Prof. F. Otto Schrader :—" I have read the book with increasing interest and do not hesitate to say that it contains a great many details which will be found useful by later historians........."

Prof. A. Berriedale Keith :—" The work may justly be deemed a most valuable contribution to the subject-matter of which it treats."

Professor W. Geiger, Munchen (Germany) :—" I highly appreciate Mr. Raychaudhuri's work as a most happy combination of sound scientific method and enormous knowledge of both Brahmanical and non-Brahmanical literature. The work is written in lucid style inspite of its intricate subject and affords a mass of valuable evidence throwing much light on the whole period of Indian History dealt within it. I see with special pleasure and satisfaction that we are now enabled by the author's penetrating researches to start in Indian Chronology from the 9th instead of the 6th or 5th century B.C."

Professor Hultzsch, Halle (Germany) :—" The Political History of Ancient India is the outcome of extensive researches and throws much light on the darkest and most debated periods of Indian history."

Studies in Indian Antiquities, by Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D. Demy 8vo pp. xvi+212. 1932. Rs. 2-8.

This little volume is, in the main, a collection of essays, which is intended to serve as an introduction to the study of the epics and the geographical cantos of the *Puranas.* The dissertations on the epics have won the approbation of scholars like Washburn Hopkins, Winternitz and Jacobi, the last of whom congratulated the author on the verification of the Bhāgavata credo in the Besnagar inscription of the second century B.C. In the geographical sections the author discusses the vexed problems of Indo-Aryan migration and expansion and the location of Vanga and examines critically the Puranic conception of the world and the theories regarding the island continents, group-mountains, etc., adumbrated in the *Bhuvana-Kosha.* There are also some interesting notes on the history and chronology of Bhoja of Kanauj and the Senas of Bengal.

Prof. E. J. Rapson, (Cambridge)—"………Dr. Raychaudhuri's essays on Indian history and Antiquities are always well-informed, thoughtful and suggestive."

Prof. E. J. Thomas (J.R.A.S.) :—" The study which Dr. Raychaudhuri has already devoted to ancient Indian history is well-known………He has shown that Indian historical scholarship is proceeding on sound lines of its own and achieving independent results."

Professor H. Jacobi, (Germany) :—" The verification of the Bhāgavata credo in the Besnagar Inscription is a find on which you may be congratulated."

Contributions to the History of the Hindu Revenue System, by U. N. Ghoshal, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of History, Presidency College (Calcutta), and Lecturer in the Departments of History and Economics, Calcutta University. Royal 8vo pp. 313+xvi, 1919. Rs. 5-8.

Prof. E. J. Rapson :—" It is a valuable contribution to the Economic History of Ancient and Mediæval India......The widely scattered evidence contained in the inscriptions and in copper-plate land-grants of Northern India has never before been so carefully collected and discussed."

Prof. A. B. Keith :—" It is a very valuable contribution to our knowledge of the subject by reason of its objectivity and the effort made to elucidate the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra by examination of the other evidence, in special that of inscriptions bearing on the topic. On the points examined the comparison of different records often throws admirable light."

Prof. M. Winternitz :—" This is a very important work on an interesting subject that to my knowledge has hitherto not yet been treated at all, and certainly not so fully and in such a scholarly manner. It is a valuable contribution to the history of Ancient Indian politics and economics."

Prof. Sylvain Lévi :—" I wish to express my very high appreciation of this work...........I know of very few books lately published which can, in my opinion, compare with it."

Prof. Louis Finot :—" An excellent contribution to a very important matter in the history of India. It is based on a careful study of the texts and affords many useful observations which will prove a great help for scholars who will take the subject in their turn."

Sir Jadunath Sarkar in a notice of the book in the " *Modern Review* " writes :—" The author who is a practised writer on Hindu polity and administration has carried our knowledge of the subject a good deal forward by concentrating light from the inscriptions by means of painstaking synthesis, while his knowledge of French and German has enabled him to utilize the latest published researches of European Orientalists. His ' Glossary of fiscal terms ' will be particularly helpful not only to students of Ancient Indian polity, but also to epigraphists and Sanskritists in general...........The author's wide outlook and far-ranging comparisons will demand careful consideration of his theories on the part of his critics, even when they differ from him."

Prof. Rakhaldas Banerjee in a letter to the Registrar of the Calcutta University writes :—" This book by Dr. Ghoshal is one of the very best among your publications."

The Acta Orientalia :—" This is a well-written and very useful study, in which the author has given a full analysis of the numerous details contained in the Arthaśāstra and the law books, with copious illustrations from the epics and general literature, as well as from inscriptions and non-Indian sources. The value of the book is enhanced by the addition of a good glossary of fiscal terms."

Dr. E. J. Thomas :—" I much admire the mastery with which the author has treated the great mass of his material and the sobriety and insight with which he has treated the subject."

The Times Literary Supplement :—" The Hindu revenue system, on the history of which Professor Ghoshal speaks with high authority, is to be reckoned as one of the political achievements of the human race...........The chief authorities are the Smritis, the Leviticus of Hindu scripture, and the famous Arthaśāstra, or Book of Government, by Kauṭīlya, a Western Indian of about the third century A.D. The rules and maxims of these authorities, says Professor Ghoshal, ' surpass the achievements of classical antiquity and tend to approach the ideas of European thinkers in the 18th and early 19th centuries.' This estimate seems fully warranted."

Dr. L. D. Barnett writes in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* :—" His treatment is scholarly and judicious and he has thrown much light on the obscure problems of ancient Indian revenue-administration.................I heartily agree on essentials with him."

American Economic Review :—" This is an important and scholarly contribution to the history of public finance in India."

Archiv Orientalni :—" Ghosal's contributions is a book on history but any man interested in this branch of economics will often find a stimulating thought in it............In the preface the author indicates that he attempts to set forth a complete account of the origin and development of the Ancient Indian Revenue System......and in this endeavour he surely obtained remarkably fortunate results."

Dr. Wilhelm Geiger writes in the *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* :—" Ich habe beide Werke [*Contributions and Agrarian System*] mit grösstem Interesse gelesen und glaube der Zustimmung aller Fachgenossen sicher zu sein. wenn ich dem Vf. danke für seine vortreffliche Arbeit. Die Darstellung ist klar und beruht auf gründlicher Fachkenntnis in volkswirtschaftlichen Dingen und auf ausgiebiger Verwertung der Literatur. In seinem Urteil und in seinen Folgerungen ist der Vf. sehr vorsichtig, und er versäumt auch nicht nachdrücklich darauf hinzuweisen, wo die Literaturangaben nicht ausreichen um weitergehende Schlüsse darauf zu bauen. Im besonderen möchte ich au das Kapitel " Summary and Conclusion " in den " Contributions " p. 271 ff hinweisen, wo die herrschenden Tendenzen in der Entwickelung des indischen Finanzwesens klar herausgehoben sind und auf die Analogien im Wirtschaftsleben anderer Völker auch aus neuer Zeit hingewiesen wird. Sehr dankenswert ist auch das den ". Contributions " beigefügte Glossar der " fiscal terms.' Ich meine, nicht nur wir Indianisten, auch die Volkswirtschaftler, die auf die Geschichte und ihre Lehren achten, werden aus dem Studium von GHOSHAL's Schriften reichen Nutzen ziehen."

The English Historical Review :—" Great value attaches to Professor U. N. Ghoshal's *Contributions to the History of the Hindu Revenue System* (Calcutta University Press, 1929). The work is characterized by objectivity and wide reading, and the principles laid down in the Arthasastra, the Smriti, Epic and Purana literature are given reality by the detailed account from the inscriptions and other sources of the history of the revenue system of Northern India from 300 B.C. to A.D. 1200. Especial importance attaches to the efforts made to ascertain the precise sense of a large number of fiscal terms, some of which as *balibhāga* or *kara* bore various senses at different periods and places......The Glossary of fiscal terms (pp. 289-300) deserves the careful attention of all workers in the field of Sanskrit lexicography and epigraphy. Of more general interest are the author's conclusions as to the incidence of land-revenue. He makes out quite a satisfactory case against the exaggeration, even by Vincent Smith, of the demands of Hindu kings and it is quite fair to stress the constitutional theory (p. 18) that taxes were the royal reward for protection as affording a measure of security to the subject against excessive expenditure............It is probable that the author is right in his view (p. 287) that the Moslems in great measure merely adapted Hindu methods rather than attempted to impose their own fiscal system. The present system has also inherited much from Hindu practice, a fact which adds greatly to the interest of the book."

Archiv Orientalni :—" The work of Professor Ghoshal will be welcomed by many students not only of History but also of Economics. The author follows in detail the evolution of the various sources of revenue and their administration in India, as they are reflected in the literature, inscriptions and other records of the past. The frequent annotations show that he not only made use of the extensive native sources but that on occasions he tried to compare his subject-matter with the corresponding phenomena of the west......In the preface the author indicates that he attempts to set forth a complete account of the origin and development of the Ancient Indian Revenue System......to form a just and balanced estimate of the Ancient Indian civilization on its material base...........to trace many institutions of Mediæval and of Modern India to their roots in the past—and in this endeavour he has surely obtained remarkably fortunate results."

American Economic Review :—" This is an important and scholarly contribution to history of public finance in India. It is a compilation of facts regarding public revenues and expenditures gleaned from an exhaustive study of Hindu literature, Hindu works on law and polity and the historical records of States, from the earliest collections of hymns and prayers down to 1200 A.D. Interwoven with the presentations is an occasional comparison with conditions in mediæval Europe and with the canons of taxation of Sismonds and Adam Smith."

Pre-Historic India, by Panchanan Mitra, M.A., Ph.D. Second Edition, *Revised and Enlarged.* Demy 8vo pp. 542 (with 53 plates). 1927. Rs. 7.

One of the pioneer works on Indian pre-history by a young Indian scholar, who is well posted in the latest works on this subject.

Contents:—Chap. I.—Races and Cultures in India—Earlier Studies and present outlook. Chap. II.—The Geological Background; Geographical and Palæo-Geographical features. Chap. III.—The Palæontological Basis—The Human ancestry—The cradle-land—The Siwalik Primates—Fossil men outside India. Chap. IV.—The Earliest Artifacts of Pre-Chellean India (probably more than a lac of years old). Chap. V.—Early Palæolithic Phases—Chellean, Acheullean and Moustrian types. Chap. VI.—Pleistocene cave-life—Karnul. Chap. VII.—Late Palæolithic and Mesolithic cultures—The Capsian Industry stations. Chap. VIII.—Prehistoric Cave-art and Rock-corvings. Chap. IX.—The Neolithic types in India. Chap. X.—The Neolithic culture-stations. Chap. XI.—Prehistoric Metallurgy. Chap. XII.—Mohenjo-Daro—A remarkable Discovery of an Eneolithic Site—Harappa and Nal—Sir John Marshall's reports. Chap. XIII.—Prehistoric Copper and Bronze finds from other sites. Chap. XIV.—The Indian Megaliths—Their Builders and Origin. Chap. XV.—The Megalithic Structures—Their architectural features, contents and distribution in India. Chap. XVI.—From extinct to living types—Mammals—The Bayana, Sialkot, Nala, Mohenjo-Daro and Adichanallur Human remains. Chap. XVII.—Prehistoric potteries and terracottas of India. Chap. XVIII.—Culture—Sequence and Origins.

Agrarian System in Ancient India *(Calcutta University Readership Lectures, 1930)*, by Upendranath Ghoshal. M.A., Ph.D. Demy 8vo pp. 136. 1930. Rs. 2-8.

Prof. A. B. Keith :—" It is an excellent work manifesting once more the author's wide reading and knowledge of things both Indian and of the world beyond and his power of drawing sound and illuminating conclusions from evidence carefully collected, carefully sifted, and effectively adduced. It forms a notable and welcome addition to our knowledge."

The Times Literary Supplement :—" Another of Dr. Ghoshal's valuable studies in ancient Indian culture and politics."

Prof. E. J. Rapson :—" I have read the book with great interest and with much admiration for the patience and the good judgment which the author has shown in collecting and discussing the widely scattered information which may be gleaned from literature and inscriptions as to the nature of the land-tenures in Mediaeval Northern India."

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland :— " The four lectures comprised in this book are an able and on the whole an instructive survey of the relations of the Crown to the land in ancient India. Some very interesting and important developments are made clear in the course of these studies such as the gradual extension of assignments and the system of Chief's estates introduced under the Rajput dynasties."

The Evolution of Indian Polity, by R. Shama Sastri, B.A., Ph.D., M.R.A.S., Curator, Government Oriental Library, Mysore. Demy 8vo pp. 192. 1920. Rs. 6.

Sources of Law and Society in Ancient India (*Thesis for the Degree of Law*), by Nareschandra Sen, M.A., D.L. Demy 8vo pp. 109. 1914. Re. 1-8.

Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India, by Sylvain Lévi, Jean Przyluski and Jules Bloch. Translated into English, by Prabodhchandra Bagchi, M.A., D.Lit. Demy 8vo pp. 216. 1929. Rs. 2-8.

The History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy, by B. M. Barua, M.A. (Cal.), D.Lit. (Lond.). Royal 8vo pp. 468. 1921. Rs. 10-8.

Orissa in the Making, by Bijaychandra Mazumdar, with an introductory Foreword by Sir Edward A. Gait, M.A., K.C.S.I., Retd. Liet.-Governor of Bihar and Orissa. Crown 8vo pp. 247. 1925. Rs. 4-8.

This work, which has no rival in the field, presents a mass of new facts relating to the early history of Orissa, and sets out the hitherto unnoticed course of events which culminated in the emergence of Orissa as a distinct national and linguistic unit. How the author has executed this work successfully after having been engaged for many years in his research work in Orissa, has been noticed by Sir Edward A. Gait in the introductory Foreword spoken of above.

The Literary Times of London, September 16, 1926 :—In Mr. Mazumdar's scholarly treatise on the making of Orissa we are introduced to an exactly opposite tendency, the tendency, namely, of Hinduism to absorb and modify aboriginal tribes and cults without entirely obliterating them. Orissa is not known to the average reader of Indian history, though the great temple of Jagannath at Puri, on the coast, is the scene of those car festivals which gave rise to the familiar but quite inaccurate phrases now current in the English language. The geographical position of Orissa, with a chain of hills almost skirting the sea and much wild country is the hinterland, doubtless protected it from invasion: and the character of its inhabitants, coupled with their poverty, which held out little hopes of adequate plunder, offered no inducement to undergo the necessary hardships. The conquest of Kalinga by Asoka is one of the outstanding facts of early Indian history, but after that time we hear little of this tract which seems to have been left to the Hindus as a play-ground to fight out their quarrels and their ambitions. It was not until 1568, when the Mogul dynasty was firmly established, that Orissa fell under the sway of the Muhammadans, and even then part of it seems to have remained under Hindu princes. And since Hindus did not write history Mr. Mazumdar has been compelled to reconstruct his story from epigraphic and similar records. He has shown commendable patience in this task and has written a useful book."

The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, page 156, 2926 :—" Mr. Mazumdar's work, to which a foreword is contributed by Sir Edward Gait, is an attempt to trace the history of Orissa from the earliest times with the aid of the materials furnished by epigraphy, literature, religion ethnology, language and geography. After emphasizing with justice the original distinction between the ancient tribes of Utkalas and Odras in the interior, he endeavours to account for the altered conditions noted by Hiuen Tsang in the 7th century, and then sketches the fortunes of the chief dynasties which have borne rule in the country. The Sulikas who were defeated by the Maukhari Isanavarman about the middle of the 6th century he locates on the coast not far from Midnapur and he then surveys the facts known about the Bhanja dynasty and its offshoots. Then comes a study of the important family of Kosala Guptas whom he regards as the real makers of Orissa and connects them with the dynasty descended from Udayana which ruled at Sripura over Daksina Kosala; and after then come the Gangas of Mukhalingam (1076-1434) and the solar dynasty of Kapilendra, Purusottama and Prataparudra (1435-1540) with a final chapter on the later history of the Sambalpur tract. The work ir marked by wide erudition and contains much that is instructive...........We cannot withhold a tribute of admiration for the extraordinary intellectual energy with which he combats his physical disability."

L. E. B. Cobden-Ramsay, Esq., C.I.E., retired Political Agent, Orissa Feudatories :—" I must apologise for my long delay in acknowledging receipt of your book ' Orissa in the Making,' but I have wanted to read it carefully before writing to you and as you will understand it is a work which merits careful reading. May I be permitted to offer you my sincere admiration for the deep scholarship and research you display in your work, the result of years of laborious research and study? "

The Statesman, October 12, 1926 :—" As Mr. Mazumdar had no predecessors, he has had to undertake an extensive original study of inscriptions and public records."

2. INDIA (MEDIAEVAL AND MODERN).

Siva Chhatrapati, by Surendranath Sen, M.A., Ph.D. Demy 8vo pp. 284. 1920. Rs. 4-14.

A translation of the oldest systematic biography in Marathi of the great Maratha hero, the Sabhasad Bakhar, with extracts from Chitnis and Sivadigvijaya with explanatory notes.

" ....It is the first of a series intended for such students of Maratha history as are ignorant of Marathi. Of the importance of the Bakhar Chronicles for a study of the rise and growth of Maratha power there can be no doubt; their historical accuracy is not always unimpeachable. But all intererted in this subject will feel deeply grateful to Mr. Sen and the Calcutta University for making this study possible and easy."—*The Hindusthan Review*, Oct., 1924.

" It is a capital book for history students."—*The Indian Daily News*, 28th September, 1920.

" Professor Sen and the University of Calcutta have laid all students of Maratha history under a great obligation by publishing this new English edition of Krishnaji Anant's book."—*The Times of India*, 26th October, 1921.

Administrative System of the Marathas (from original sources), by the same author. *Second edition (revised and enlarged)*. Demy 8vo pp. 730. 1925. Rs. 10.

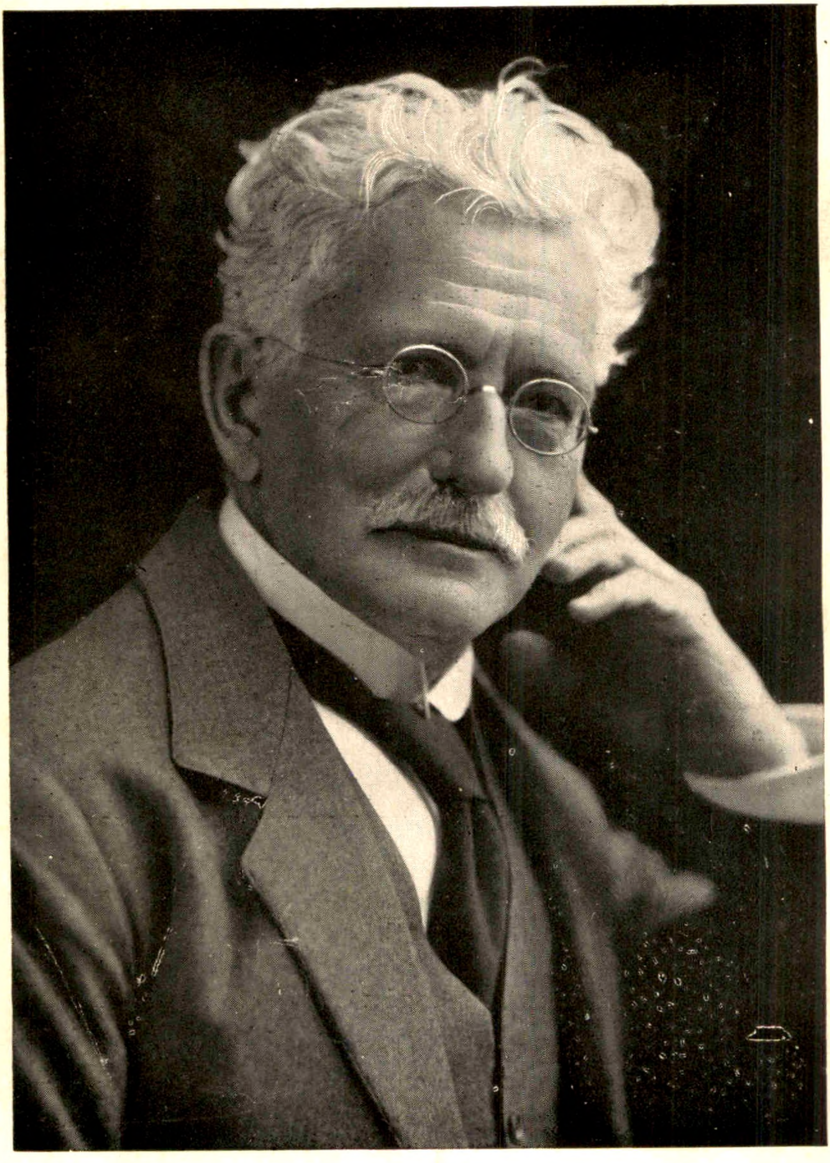
It is an exhaustive account of the polity that prevailed during the centuries of Maratha domination. Dr. Sen has closely studied the available original sources and this work is undoubtedly the most valuable contribution on Maratha administrative system that has yet appeared in English.

Prof. A. Berriedale Keith—" ....It contains a very large amount of interesting information, carefully put together. and rendered illuminating by comparison with the description of early Hindu institutions derived from the Dharmasastra literature. It undoubtedly sheds much light on the course of administration prior to the advent of British supremacy, and the impartiality and good sense of such personal judgments as you express deserves recognition."

Prof. Jules Bloch (in the " Journal Asiatique ")—" C'est un ouvrage solide et important, qui fait honneur a l'auteur et a l'école ou il se rattache."

The Hon'ble Justice C. A. Kincaid—" I have spent several delightful hours reading your most valuable work 'Administrative System of the Marathas.' It is full of erudition and should long remain the classic text on the subject. I do not fancy any one else would have the industry as well as the learning, to write another such book. I congratulate you warmly on your great achievement."

S. M. Edwardes (in the " Indian Antiquary," January, 1924)—"...... He has now placed students of Maratha affairs under a further obligation by this careful exposition of the administrative system in vogue in the Deccan in the pre-British period.



THE LATE PROFESSOR P. J. BRÜHL, D.Sc., I.S.O., F.C.S., F.G.S., F.A.S.B.